Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-234
Thursday
7 December 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-234 *7 December 1989*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Delegations Arrive for Moscow Pact Summit 1
CSSR's Urbanek, Johanes, Adamec *[Prague Radio]* 1
GDR's Krenz, Modrow, Fischer *[ADN]* 1
Polish Leaders Arrive *[Warsaw Radio]* 1
Polish Defense Minister Lays Wreath *[PAP]* 1
GDR's Modrow, Ryzhkov Hold Talks *[ADN]* 1
Nemeth, Ryzhkov Hold Economic Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 1
Hungary's Nyers, Gorbachev Agree to Future Talks *[MTI]* 2
Poland's Rakowski Meets Yakovlev, Nemeth *[Warsaw PAP]* 2
Shevardnadze Receives CSSR's Johanes *[CTK]* 2
Gorbachev, CSSR Leaders View 1968 Events *[CTK]* 2
Ceausescu, Gorbachev Hold 'Comradely' Talks *[AGERPRES]* 3
USSR Troop Withdrawal From CSSR on Agenda *[Jelinek in Prague RUDE PRAVO 1 Dec]* 3
Pact Talks in Moscow Reported *[PAP]* 4
Pact Agrees 1968 CSSR Intervention 'Error' *[MTI]* 4
CSSR's Urbanek Briefs Press on Moscow Talks *[CTK]* 5
Further on Meeting *[Prague Radio]* 5
Leaders, Media Assess Pact Summit 5
Jaruzelski on Summit *[PAP]* 5
Poland's Mazowiecki *[PAP]* 6
Hungary's Nemeth *[Budapest Radio]* 6
Hungary's Nyers on Pact Decision *[Budapest Radio]* 7
Romania Radio on '68 Intervention Ruling *[Bucharest Radio]* 7
Bulgaria Radio *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Comparisons of Pact Defense Ministers Communique 8
Prague RUDE PRAVO 1 Dec Version 8
Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP 1 Dec Version 8
Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU 1 Dec Version 8

ALBANIA

Carcani Commemorates Liberation, Independence *[ZERI I POPULLIT 29 Nov]* 9
Messages Sent in Recognition of Liberation 16
Bulgaria's Mladenov *[ZERI I POPULLIT 1 Dec]* 16
Greece's Sartzetakis *[ZERI I POPULLIT 1 Dec]* 16
PRC Leaders *[ZERI I POPULLIT 1 Dec]* 16
Turkey's Ozal *[ZERI I POPULLIT 1 Dec]* 17

BULGARIA

Mladenov Talks in Moscow 'A New Beginning' *[BTA]* 18
Yordanov Receives Soviet Deputy Chief Arbiter *[BTA]* 18
Mladenov Greets SFRY Leaders, PLO's 'Arafat *[BTA]* 18
Transport Agreement With United Arab Emirates *[BTA]* 19
Interpol Votes in Bulgaria as Member *[BTA]* 19
Zarev Cites Foreign Debt as $10 Billion *[BTA]* 19
Reasons for Electric Power Cuts Given *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Dec]* 19
'Crisis' of Bulgarian Agriculture Discussed *[BTA]* 20
Further on Council of Ministers Session *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 Dec]* 20

Ecological Association Established in Plovdiv *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 Dec]* 21
Informal Democratic Association in Stara Zagora *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 Dec]* 21
Varna Groups Celebrate Constitution Day *[Sofia Radio]* 21
Independent Club Leader Zhelev Interviewed *[BTA]* 22
Dyulgerov Addresses Trade Union CC Plenum *[TRUD 27 Nov]* 22
Concluding Speech at Plenum *[TRUD 30 Nov]* 23
Agrarian Party Council Opens Session *[Sofia Radio]* 24
Tanchev, Others Resign *[BTA]* 24
Speakers Make Demands *[BTA]* 25
Dimitrov Elected New Leader *[BTA]* 25
Dimitrov's First Speech *[BTA]* 25
Dimitrov Opposes BCP Role *[BTA]* 26
Petur Beron on Opposition's Political Goals *[Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA 21 Nov]* 26
Mladenov Meets Leaders of Mass Media *[BTA]* 27
Fundamental Changes in Economy Viewed *[BTA]* 27
Committee Checks State of Domestic Market *[BTA]* 28
Radio Requests Citizens' Plenum Proposals *[Sofia Radio]* 28
Intellectuals Want Past Record Corrected *[BTA]* 28
Pirinski Meets Workers in Blagoevgrad *[BTA]* 29
Literary Figure Rejects Islamic Issue *[LITERATUREN FRONT 23 Nov]* 29
Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-24 Nov *[Sofia Radio, etc.]* 29

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Federal Premier Adamec Resigns Post 7 Dec *[Prague TV]* 31
Adamec Addresses Nation, Discusses Situation *[Bratislava Radio]* 31
Stepan Denies Responsibility for 17 Nov Events *[CTK]* 33
Government Issues Communique 30 Nov *[RUDE PRAVO 1 Dec]* 33
CPSL Central Committee 'Active Measures' *[Bratislava PRAVDA 29 Nov]* 34
Central Slovak Regional CPSL Leaders Resign *[Bratislava Radio]* 35
Spak Reelected East Slovak CPSL Leader *[Prague Radio]* 36
Slovak Communist Party Presidium Holds Sessions 36
Convened 1 Dec *[Bratislava PRAVDA 4 Dec]* 36
Press Center Opens *[CTK]* 36
Meets 4 Dec *[Bratislava PRAVDA 5 Dec]* 37
Slovak Press Secretary Issues Statement *[CTK]* 37
Slovak Communist Party CC Opens Special Session *[CTK]* 37
Secretariat, Presidium Resign *[CTK]* 37
Bolvansky Heads Action Committee *[Bratislava Radio]* 38
Slovak National Council Meets Opposition *[Bratislava Radio]* 38
Slovak National Council Holds Session 39
Communist Deputies Resign *[Prague Radio]* 39
Elects Presidium *[CTK]* 39
Session Reported *[Bratislava Radio]* 40
New Presidium Meets *[Bratislava Radio]* 40
Civic Forum Meets Soviet Embassy Officials *[Prague Radio]* 41
Further on Civic Forum-Czech Government Talks *[RUDE PRAVO 2 Dec]* 41
Civic Forum Demands Recall of Prosecutors General *[Prague Radio]* 42
News Conference on Civic Forum-Urbanek Talks *[Bratislava Radio]* 42
Public Against Violence Holds News Conference *[Bratislava Radio]* 42
Czech Civic Forum Demands End to Censorship *[Prague Radio]* 43
Socialist Reconstruction Club Issues Manifesto 43
Blames Husak, Jakes *[CTK]* 43
More Details of Manifesto *[Prague Radio]* 43
Gives News Conference *[CTK]* 44
National Agricultural Cooperatives Congress Opens 44
Urbanek, Adamec Attend *[CTK]* 44
Minister Algayer Addresses Congress *[CTK]* 45
Urbanek Speaks at Congress *[Prague Radio]* 45
Farmers Boo Opposition Speaker *[Prague TV]* 47
Adamec Addresses Congress *[Prague Radio]* 48

Congress Ends; New Party Formed *[CTK]* 48
Agricultural Cooperatives Discuss Farmers Party *[Prague Radio]* 49
Founding Congress Set for 13 Jan *[Prague Radio]* 49

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

National Defense Council Members Removed *[ADN]* 50
Gerlach on Appointment as Acting Chairman *[ADN]* 50
Further on Gerlach *[ADN]* 50
Krenz Statement to Chamber on Resignation *[ADN]* 50
Army Leaders Appeal to Troops To 'Secure Peace' *[ADN]* 51
Government Issues Appeal for Calm *[ADN]* 51
Text of State Council's Amnesty Decision *[ADN]* 52
Terms Explained *[ADN]* 52
Prisoners Protest Amnesty Regulations *[ADN]* 52
Prison Strike Situation Called 'Tense' *[ADN]* 53
Charges Sought Against Ex-Security Chief *[ADN]* 53
Mielke Held Responsible *[East Berlin TV]* 53
Leipzig Official on 9 Oct Demonstrations *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 Nov]* 53
Suspect of 'Serious Crime' Commits Suicide *[ADN]* 54
National Security Chief in Gera Dismissed *[ADN]* 54
FDGB To Investigate 'Misuse of Office' *[ADN]* 54
Corruption Probe Against Schwerin SED Chief *[ADN]* 54
Deputy Defense Minister on Arms Sales *[ADN]* 55
Heusinger Comments Further on Vogel Arrest *[ADN]* 55
Vogel To Continue Private Legal Practice *[ADN]* 55
Corruption Committee Holds 1st Public Hearing *[ADN]* 55
Toeplitz Speech at People's Chamber 1 Dec *[East Berlin TV]* 56
Gera Citizens Tour National Security Bunkers *[ADN]* 59
New Forum Calls for Demonstration on 10 Dec *[ADN]* 59
New Forum Makes 'Interior Disarmament' Appeal *[ADN]* 59
Appeal to Security Office *[ADN]* 60
Public Figures Demand Total Disarmament *[ADN]* 60
Rostock Workers Withdraw Call for Strike *[ADN]* 60
Opinion Poll Finds Fear of Economic Problems *[ADN]* 60
Gerlach Addresses 24 Nov LDPD Meeting *[DER MORGEN 27 Nov]* 61
Police Officer Notes Signs of Neo-Nazism *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 25-26 Nov]* 63
Draft on Statute for National Democratic Youth *[NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 25-26 Nov]* 64
'Democracy Now' Movement Activist on Reforms *[Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA 23 Nov]* 65
SED's Rauchfuss Views Economic Reform *[Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 23 Nov]* 66
Antifascists' Statement on Stalinism, Neo-Nazism *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 Nov]* 67
State Bank President on Economic Reform *[NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 21 Nov]* 68
FRG's Brandt Addresses Thousands in Rostock *[ADN]* 69
Further on Speech *[ADN]* 69
Antireunification Rally Planned in West Berlin *[ADN]* 70
More Than 230,000 Sign Appeal for Nation *[ADN]* 70
Intershop Official Discusses Future of Shops *[NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 23 Nov]* 70
Berlin Theater Stewards Send Letter to Kohl *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24 Nov]* 72
Modrow Discusses Cooperation With Lufthansa Head *[ADN]* 72
Minister Wilms Criticized for Evaluating Reforms *[Prokot in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23 Nov]* 72
Talks on Economic Reform Held With USSR *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24 Nov]* 72
Foreign Ministry Confirms Dalai Lama's Visit *[ADN]* 73
Article Demands Clarity in Foreign Policy *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 21 Nov]* 73
SED, Turkish Communists Exchange Views *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 Nov]* 74
Trade, Economic Relations With Sweden Discussed *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24 Nov]* 74
Leaders' Public Appearances for 15-29 Nov *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16-30 Nov]* 74

HUNGARY

Message Sent to Ceausescu Regarding Pastor Tokes *[Budapest Radio]* 75
'Text' of Message *[MTI]* 75

TASS Commentator on Ceausescu Declarations *[NEPSZAVA 24 Nov]* 75
Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Assesses Visit *[Budapest TV]* 76
Opposition Demands Halt to Dam Construction *[Budapest Radio]* 76
FRG's Lothar Spaeth Visits; Awarded Degree *[MTI]* 76
Government Supports Insolvent Enterprises Closure *[Budapest Radio]* 76
Government To Hold Talks With Opposition Parties *[Budapest Radio]* 76
HSP Presidium Holds Session, Discusses Election *[MTI]* 77
HSP Registered at Court as Political Party *[Budapest Radio]* 77
National Assembly Statement on Referendum *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 27 Nov]* 77
Szuros: Elections Possible in March *[Budapest Radio]* 78
Council of Ministers Holds Multi-day Session 78
Discusses Agrarian Policy *[Budapest Radio]* 78
Ends Session *[MTI]* 78
Grosz Concerned With Antisocialist Forces *[MTI]* 78
Fur Says Extreme Wings Emerging in Hungary *[MTI]* 78
Free Democrats, Partners Hold Rally in Szeged *[Budapest TV]* 79
Pan-Magyar Body Holds First Open Meeting *[Budapest TV]* 79
Green Party Holds News Briefing After Session *[MTI]* 79
Independent Police Trade Union Formed *[MTI]* 79
Police Trade Union Founding Congress Ends *[MTI]* 80
Deputy Minister on Future of Voluntary Police *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 24 Nov]* 80
Federation of Commercial Trade Unions Founded *[MTI]* 80
Trade Union Federation of Metal Workers Formed *[MTI]* 81
TV Personnel Protest Government Supervision *[Budapest Radio]* 81
Pozsgay on Media Supervision *[Budapest TV]* 81
MTI Updates AIDS Statistics in Hungary 83

POLAND

Anti-Soviet Demonstration in Nowa Huta 6 Dec *[Warsaw TV]* 84
Walesa Statement *[PAP]* 84
Leader of Ukrainian Poles on Their Situation *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 29 Nov]* 84
Mazowiecki on Economic Ties With USSR *[PAP]* 85
Mazowiecki, Ryzhkov Discuss Gas Deliveries *[Warsaw TV]* 85
Sakharov Interviewed on Perestroyka, Changes *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 4 Dec]* 85
Reaction to Complaints of GDR Discrimination 86
Demonstration at GDR Consulate *[Warsaw TV]* 86
GDR Reply to TU Letter *[PAP]* 86
GDR Ambassador Television Appeal *[TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Dec]* 86
Senate President Comments German Unity *[Hamburg DIE WELT 6 Dec]* 87
Daily on USSR, Socialist Bloc Democratization *[PAP]* 87
Solidarity Executive Committee Holds Meeting 88
Commission Begins Session *[PAP]* 88
Meets, Debates *[PAP]* 88
Further on Session *[PAP]* 88
Extraordinary Commission on Former Government *[PAP]* 88
Mazowiecki Hands Proposals to Economic Council *[Warsaw Radio]* 89
Council Holds First Meeting *[PAP]* 89
Vice Premier Janowski on Economic System *[PAP]* 89
Economist R. Szewczyk on Foreign Investment *[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA 14 Nov]* 90
Mazowiecki Celebrates Miners Day in Katowice *[Warsaw Radio]* 91
Addresses Katowice Miners *[PAP]* 91
Four PZPR Deputies Leave Floor Group *[Warsaw Radio]* 92

ROMANIA

U.S., USSR 'Alone Cannot Solve Problems' *[AGERPRES]* 93
SCINTEIA Supports Reevaluation of 1968 *[AGERPRES]* 93
Daily Rejects Accords Between Superpowers *[AGERPRES]* 94
Ceausescu Receives Credentials of U.S. Ambassador *[AGERPRES]* 95
DPRK Foreign Minister Meets With Officials *[AGERPRES]* 96

Ceausescu Message to SFRY on Mine Accident *[SCINTEIA 23 Nov]* 96
SCINTEIA on Hungary's Foreign Debt *[23 Nov]* 96
UN Resolution Condemns 'Economic Constraint' *[AGERPRES]* 96
Delegate Addresses UN on Middle East Issues *[AGERPRES]* 97
Leaders' Public Appearances for 18 Nov-1 Dec *[Bucharest Radio, etc.]* 97

YUGOSLAVIA

Drnovsek Concludes Visit to FRG, Comments 100
Meets With Mischnik *[TANJUG]* 100
Exchanges Toasts With Kohl *[TANJUG]* 100
Talks With CDU's Dregger *[TANJUG]* 101
Comments on Yugoslavs in FRG *[TANJUG]* 101
Deems Visit 'Extremely Successful' *[Belgrade Radio]* 101
Toasts Von Weizsaecker *[TANJUG]* 101
Holds News Conference in Bonn *[TANJUG]* 102
Ends Visit *[TANJUG]* 103
Statement After Visit *[TANJUG]* 103
Joint Croat-Albanian Demonstration in FRG *[POLITIKA 26 Nov]* 103
Comments on Krenz, SED Central Committee Fall *[Belgrade Radio]* 104
SFRY Presidency Supports Recognizing ROK *[TANJUG]* 104
Party Presidium on Delegation to RCP Congress *[POLITIKA 28-30 Nov]* 104
Party Official Favors 'Political Pluralism' *[TANJUG]* 105
Pancevski Proposed as LCY Presidium President *[TANJUG]* 105
LCY Discusses Congress Agenda Topics *[TANJUG]* 105
Drnovsek VECERNJE NOVOSTI Interview *[BORBA 28, 29, 30 Nov]* 106
Unrest Between Republics Continues; Reactions 109
Drnovsek TV Address *[TANJUG]* 109
'Urgent Replacement' Demanded *[BORBA 1 Dec]* 111
Emergency Session Urged *[TANJUG]* 111
Session To Solve Situation *[Belgrade Radio]* 112
Assembly To Hold Joint Session *[TANJUG]* 112
Chamber Rejects Declaration *[TANJUG]* 112
Milosevic Speech Reported *[Ljubljana Radio]* 113
Slovene Presidency on Speech *[TANJUG]* 113
Economic Blockade 'Unconstitutional' *[TANJUG]* 113
Slovene LC Presidium Statement *[TANJUG]* 114
Slovenian, Serbian Leaders Criticized *[TANJUG]* 114
Croat SAWP on Break *[TANJUG]* 115
Croat SAWP Supports Slovenia *[TANJUG]* 117
Kosovo Chamber on Slovene Stance *[TANJUG]* 117
Demonstrations, Protests Held in Kosovo 117
More Than 5,000 Attend *[TANJUG]* 117
Schoolchildren Arrested *[Pristina Radio]* 118
Army Chief on 'Unsuitable' Party Pluralism *[TANJUG]* 118
Unkovic Gets Most Votes in Belgrade Referendum *[TANJUG]* 118

Delegations Arrive for Moscow Pact Summit

CSSR's Urbanek, Johanes, Adamec

LD0312215389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec arrived in Moscow today. Arriving there with him were Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaromir Johanes; Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee; and Ondrej Saling, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. They are in Moscow to attend a meeting of leaders of the Warsaw Pact states, at which Mikhail Gorbachev will brief them on the outcome of his talks with George Bush.

GDR's Krenz, Modrow, Fischer

LD0412101989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0957 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—A GDR delegation, which includes State Council Chairman Egon Krenz, Prime Minister Hans Modrow, and Foreign Minister Uskar Fischer, has arrived in Moscow this morning. It will take part in a meeting of leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states, scheduled to begin this afternoon in the Soviet capital. In the course of the meeting, Soviet Head of State Mikhail Gorbachev will inform the representatives of the allied countries of the results of his negotiations with U.S. President George Bush.

Before the Warsaw Pact summit, a discussion between Prime Minister Modrow and his Soviet counterpart Nikolay Ryzhkov is planned. Modrow told journalists that he will take the opportunity to inform his counterpart of events in the GDR. Also on the agenda are questions of economic cooperation between the GDR and the USSR.

Modrow said: "I spoke yesterday with the committee preparing the party congress and have been given a mandate to some extent from the committee to represent it here if party matters are discussed".

Polish Leaders Arrive

LD0412134489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski have arrived in Moscow for a meeting of the Warsaw Pact members' heads of state. The Polish delegation was welcomed at Vnukovo Airport by the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Polish Defense Minister Lays Wreath

LD0412214589 Warsaw PAP in English 1533 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow. Dec. 4—Polish Defence Minister General Florian Siwicki arrived here on Monday at the head of a Polish Army delegation for an official visit at the invitation of his Soviet counterpart Dmitriy Yazov. After wreath-laying at Lenin's mausoleum and on the unknown soldier's tomb, both delegations met for talks and then took part in a dinner given by Minister Yazov in honor of the Polish delegation.

GDR's Modrow, Ryzhkov Hold Talks

LD0412154289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1502 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The prime ministers of the USSR and the GDR, Nikolay Ryzhkov and Hans Modrow, respectively, met in Moscow today before the Warsaw Pact summit for a talk. The heads of government informed each other about the course of socialist renewal in their countries.

Modrow and Ryzhkov described as positive the prospects for equal and mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries, which will be perfected in accordance with the new conditions of their social and economic development. Of current interest are new forms of cooperation as well as cooperation in science, technology, and production.

They emphasized the intention of the USSR and the GDR to continue in the future to promote the pan-European process, to cooperate to mutual advantage and in a neighborly spirit with all countries, including the FRG, on the basis of unconditional respect for the existing political and territorial realities, with the objective of reinforcing peace and international security.

Modrow is a member of the GDR delegation that is taking part in the meeting of leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states.

Nemeth, Ryzhkov Hold Economic Talks

LD0412185389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Report by Gabor Izbeki from Moscow]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Rezso Nyers has promised to brief the Hungarian press about the Warsaw Pact summit. However, because of the length of the meeting under way in Lenin Hills, this has been postponed for the time being.

This morning there was an unofficial discussion between the Hungarian and Soviet heads of governments. Here Miklos Nemeth handed over to Nikolai Ryzhkov concrete proposals relating to the transformation of the two countries' economic relations.

The Hungarian prime minister stated that our country is interested in developing full-scale market and business relations based on world market values. Our country would also like the Soviet Union to renounce a proportion of the unilateral advantages stemming from the transition to dollar accounting, and to shoulder some of the disadantages affecting us.

Prime Minister Ryzhkov showed understanding for the fact that our country has urged the precise observation of the agreement relating to energy and vehicle deliveries, and making up for the delivery backlogs.

The discussion between the Hungarian and Soviet heads of government was not too public, since prime minister Ryzhkov was only able to receive the Hungarian premier, and not others. Thus, at the Soviet's request, not even photographers were allowed into the discussion chamber.

Hungary's Nyers, Gorbachev Agree to Future Talks

LD0412221189 Budapest MTI in English 2052 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, December 4 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers and Mikhail Gorbachev agreed to meet again in the not-too-distant future, during the visit to Moscow of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] president, Istvan Degen, head of the Office of the HSP President, told the Moscow correspondent of MTI on Monday.

Mr Nyers headed a HuNgarian Socialist Workers Party delegation to Moscow last summer. After the October congress, the CPSU central committee general secretary greeted him on the occasion of his election as HSP president. Mr Nyers has now completed his first visit to Moscow in his present capacity and the date of his next visit is to be coordinated later, Mr Degen said.

Poland's Rakowski Meets Yakovlev, Nemeth

LD0412212389 Warsaw PAP in English 1937 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 4—First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) CC [Central Committee] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, now on a visit to Moscow, met on Monday with Political Bureau member and secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) CC Aleksandr Yakovlev.

The sides pondered over how to improve cooperation between their two parties and discussed some aspects of the Soviet-Polish relations.

On the same day, Mieczyslaw Rakowski talked with Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

Shevardnadze Receives CSSR's Johanes

LD0412202189 Prague CTK in English 1847 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow Dec 4 (CTK)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received here today Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes at his own request, on the occasion of a meeting of leading representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

They discussed the question of the temporary stay of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory and decided to start Soviet-Czechoslovak consultations on this issue. They stated that the question must be solved in harmony with the all-European disarmament process.

Gorbachev, CSSR Leaders View 1968 Events

LD0412223489 Prague CTK in English 2154 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow Dec 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek and Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec were received here today by Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev, whom they informed about the political situation in the country.

In Czechoslovakia the endeavor of working people and youth to speed up restructuring, make political structures more democratic and revive society is evident. Activities are also pursued by forces striving to lead the country beyond the level of socialist choice. The new Communist Party leadership proceeds from the fact that it is necessary to resolutely get rid of conservatism and act as a reviving force in the alliance with all those who respect the values of socialism and democracy.

Gorbachev stressed that communists must in time register the topical needs of revival of social life, however different the present processes in many European socialist states may seem. They have originated from the need for profound changes. The socialist idea is not dying as many people claim. On the contrary, it is being revived and shows its vitality.

Speaking about relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia and officials stressed that the two countries' nations have been interested in the development of equal and mutually advantageous economic and political cooperation. The two states' alliance has been playing a substantial role in preserving stability and inviolability of the postwar set-up in Europe.

It was stated that the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communist Parties have identical views on the entry of troops of the five Warsaw Treaty states on Czechoslovak territory in 1968. It was an act of interfering in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs which runs counter to the norms of ties between sovereign states.

Under discussion were also conditions of the stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. It was decided to speak about this issue at consultations of the two countries'

respective state bodies. Reduction of the number of armed forces and armament provided that all-European balance is preserved and inviolability of borders of all European states is ensured is a necessary guarantee of stability in Europe and further development of the Helsinki process.

Both sides also expressed the endeavour to strengthen cooperation between the Soviet and Czechoslovak Communist Parties.

Participating in the meeting were also Nikolay Ryzhkov, Eduard Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev.

Ceausescu, Gorbachev Hold 'Comradely' Talks

AU0512091389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2211 GMT 4 Dec 89

["Interview Between Nicolae Ceausescu and M.S.Gorbachev"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 4/12/1989—On December 4, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, met with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

During their interview, the two party and state leaders informed each other of the course of socialist construction in Romania and the Soviet Union. Satisfaction was expressed at the traditional links of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples and so was the mutual wish to further work for their expansion and development of multiple planes, in the interest of socialist construction in the two countries, of the general cause of socialism, collaboration and peace in the world. Nicolae Ceausescu and M.S. Gorbachev exchanged opinions on current questions related to socialist construction and the international communist and working-class movement, as well as on issues of the international life.

Emphasis was placed on the mutual interest in expanding the collaboration between Romania and the Soviet Union both bilaterally and in the international life.

The interview was attended by Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, and N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The interview occasioned an open exchange of opinions and passed in a comradely atmosphere.

USSR Troop Withdrawal From CSSR on Agenda

AU0512151589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Dec 89 p 7

[Jelinek commentary: "On the Issue of Soviet Troops in the CSSR"]

[Text] **In his speech on 29 November, Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec broached, among other issues, the issue of the presence of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory. It is a grave matter which involves a number of things.**

Three facts are equally projected in this issue.

First, the developing disarmament process, or the negotiations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states on troop and armament reductions.

Second, the political transformations in Europe and the demonstrable shift from the policy of confrontation to the establishment of a new system of international relations.

Third, provisions for ensuring the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak state under the new conditions.

As can be seen, the issue broached by the premier is a topical one and must be dealt with. In fact, the entire problem of foreign troops on the territory of other states has been a discussion topic for quite some time; the time has now come to find a solution.

The deployment of a group of Soviet troops on our territory is the consequence of the military solution of the situation existing in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. On 18 October 1968, the Soviet and Czechoslovak Governments, headed by Premiers Kosygin and Cernik, concluded an agreement on the temporary presence of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory, thus providing a legal foundation for the situation that had newly arisen. Let us underscore the term **temporary**, which clearly limited the stay of Soviet troops in terms of time. More than 20 years have passed since then.

The NATO member states have accepted the emergence of a new Soviet military grouping in central Europe as a fact. Regardless of their political protests, they included it in their military plans and doctrines. When the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact states opened their talks with NATO, on the basis of a Soviet initiative and in the spirit of new political thinking, on the need to reduce military forces and armaments in Europe, the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia were already regarded as part and parcel of the Warsaw Pact's military force. Both sides include them in reckoning the overall balance of forces between the two military-political groupings. Within the framework of unilateral disarmament measures adopted by the USSR, the Soviet Union is now withdrawing one tank division and certain other formations from its troops stationed in Czechoslovakia. Here one should also note that, up to now, the Czechoslovak side has always maintained that it is the concern of the Soviet side to announce the number of Soviet troops on our territory. That is why the official data are not known to this very day, so that we can merely quote foreign calculations, which assess the numerical strength of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia at 80,000.

Minister Shevardnadze has expressed the USSR's stand quite unambiguously: not a single soldier beyond the borders of the Soviet state. This is a goal which must be negotiated, and the Soviet Union will do everything in

its power to reach it. It is known that the United States rejects any and all unilateral steps toward a reduction of its troops in Europe. Judging by the latest information, Washington is seriously contemplating the reduction of their number on the basis of reciprocity. Thus the whole matter is developing rather favorably. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that everybody agrees that the negotiations must be in keeping with the principle of maintaining the equilibrium of the military balance of forces, and of not impairing the security interests of all or any of the states affected by this issue.

An alternative is offered here, which could be acceptable to everybody. The European states with foreign troops deployed on their territories can strive to achieve the withdrawal of these troops already during the first stage of the disarmament agreements. For instance, this stand was adopted by Hungary; and certain politicians and the majority of the public in the European states is also inclined to agree with it. At the same time these states continue to regard participation in the political-military groupings to which they belong as the guarantee of their own security. The Warsaw Pact's proposal of mutual disbandment is also on the agenda of the day.

One must consider that during the period of the policy of confrontation, the European states regarded the presence of foreign troops on their territories as an irreplaceable means of providing for their own safety. The situation has now changed. The healthy idea that safety must be primarily provided for by political means and by one's own armed forces is pushing its way to the fore. Nevertheless, every sensible and sober person understands that all states must come to an agreement on this point—in other words, that it is necessary to establish political prerequisites for the withdrawal of foreign troops, and do so on the basis of legal treaties. Agreement has already been reached on the possibility to establish these prerequisites within the framework of current all- European negotiations.

Our Army Command assures us of the high level of combat readiness of Czechoslovak troops, and our Army is sufficiently large. Still, it is also a question of the quality of military armament, an issue on which the experts have the main say. Likewise, we have already mentioned that one must not neglect the protection of our state's sovereignty. We must also consider the fact that today West German Chancellor Kohl envisages a plan for the unification of Germany and that Bonn has at its disposal the Bundeswehr—one of the best and most modern armies in the world. Moreover, the armies of four states—the United States, Britain, France, and Canada—are deployed on FRG territory, i.e. in our immediate vicinity. In other words, there are a number of connections and questions which have to be considered. Nevertheless, it is possible to conduct negotiations and to develop efforts to find a solution. The well-considered words spoken by Premier Adamec show that our government is determined to proceed in this manner.

Pact Talks in Moscow Reported

LD0512092489 Warsaw PAP in English 0031 GMT 5 Dec 89

[By PAP correspondent]

[Text] Moscow. Dec. 4—At a meeting of leaders of states—parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held here today, Mikhail Gorbachev briefed those present on results of his meeting with George Bush. The Soviet leader also presented results of talks he had had last week with Pope John Paul II and Italian politicians.

The meeting was attended on the Polish side by President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. Also present was PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, who stayed in Moscow on a working visit at an invitation from the CPSU CC.

The meeting lasted nearly two hours longer than scheduled because of discussion on a statement made by leaders of Bulgaria, The GDR, Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union and condemning the intervention of those five Warsaw Treaty states in Czechoslovakia in 1968. An initiative to adopt such a document was put forward by Gorbachev.

The Moscow summit was an occasion for numerous meetings and bilateral talks. The more so that its many participants, following changes in the authorities of individual allied countries, met in this company for the first time.

During a break in the debates Gorbachev joined the Polish delegation. He displayed interest in Polish developments and the reform process started by the government. This unconventional meeting lasted about fifteen minutes. President Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke about recent events in Poland and also about meetings he had held before leaving for Moscow, including the one with Lech Walesa.

Pact Agrees 1968 CSSR Intervention 'Error'

LD0412222189 Budapest MTI in English 2150 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, December 4 (MTI)—On the proposal of Mikhail Gorbachev, the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states held on Monday a brief consultation on the 1968 military intervention in Czechoslovakia. The parties agreed that the intervention was an error and violated the basic principles of the Warsaw Treaty. Rezso Nyers told Hungarian journalists in Moscow Monday evening.

The president of the Hungarian Socialist Party added that the Brezhnev Doctrine was no longer a matter of debate within the Warsaw Treaty. The member states unanimously rejected it.

Mr Nyers said he had raised the fact there were deep economic crises behind the current political crises in Eastern Europe. Since the member states are unable to get out of them with mere political solutions, they have to entirely transform the system of economic relations in the East European region. Mr Nyers urged the acceleration of reform of the Warsaw Treaty. This is necessitated by both the changes occurring at breathtaking speed in the majority of member states and the contacts between the blocs.

Mr Nyers said that the Romanian contribution reflected anxiety over the internal situation and policy of some member states of the Warsaw Treaty.

Mikhail Gorbachev informed the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member states on the Malta summit that paid particular attention to the European issues and East European changes. The Soviet and U.S. positions on the two German states are not diametrically opposed, Mr Gorbachev said. The parties to the summit agreed that reunification was a justified but at present untimely endeavour of the German people. Close cooperation between the two German states might be a practical solution to the German issue, he said.

As reported earlier, Budapest's Ferihegy Airport is closed to all traffic because of the thick fog. The Hungarian delegation is therefore expected to return from Moscow on Tuesday.

CSSR's Urbanek Briefs Press on Moscow Talks

LD0512085289 Prague CTK in English 0650 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow Dec 4 (CTK)—Participants in Monday's meeting of leading representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member states here were informed by Mikhail Gorbachev of his talks in Italy, The Vatican and with U.S. President George Bush, and voiced support for the results of his talks, Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek told Czechoslovak journalists at the close of the meeting here yesterday.

He further spoke about a statement issued by representatives of five Warsaw Treaty members qualifying the entry of their forces in Czechoslovakia in 1968 as interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Czechoslovakia.

Urbanek said that he and Premier Ladislav Adamec informed Mikhail Gorbachev and Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov of the present situation in their country and in the Czechoslovak Communist Party. The two Soviet officials voiced support for the new Communist Party Central Committee leadership, Urbanek said.

Further on Meeting

LD0412204289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] A meeting of the highest government and party representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states took place in Moscow today [4 December]. Czechoslovakia was represented by Federal Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec; Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes; and Ondrej Saling, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Lubomir Sisak, our resident correspondent in the Soviet Union, reports:

[Sisak, in Slovak] The meeting began after 1600 Moscow time and has just ended. On the agenda was not only the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, the highest Soviet representative, but also the ensuing bilateral talks. Before his departure from Moscow, Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, assessed the whole meeting as follows:

[Begin Urbanek recording] First, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev informed us about his talks in Italy, in the Vatican, and particularly about his talks with U.S. President Bush. We endorsed his conclusions.

Second—and allow me to quote—a statement was adopted by the leading representatives of five Warsaw Pact member states in which they declared that the entry into Czechoslovakia of their troops in 1968 was an interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Czechoslovakia. It goes on to say that history has confirmed how important it is, even in the most complicated international situation, to exclusively use political means for the solution of problems.

Along with Comrade Adamec, the federal prime minister, we informed Comrade Gorbachev and Comrade Ryzhkov about the current situation in the CSSR and about the current situation in the CPCZ. Both comrades received our information with great understanding and with the support for the new leadership of the CPCZ Central Committee. [end recording]

[Sisak] I would only like to add that within the framework of Czechoslovak-Soviet bilateral talks, Foreign Ministers Jaromir Johanes and Eduard Shevardnadze also met. The talks took place at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, at our representative's request. In connection with the question raised by our side and concerning the temporary stationing of Soviet troops on the territory of Czechoslovakia, it has been agreed to open relevant bilateral consultations in the sense that this issue has to be tackled as a follow-up to the ongoing European-wide process of disarmament.

Leaders, Media Assess Pact Summit

Jaruzelski on Summit

LD0412215989 Warsaw PAP in English 2126 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 4—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski said in an interview for PAP following the Moscow summit of Warsaw Treaty states:

This summit, like the previous ones, was primarily devoted to an assessment of the international situation. It once again showed our concordance in approach, in assessment of the situation, in politics—in its general terms. The policy and stance adopted by Mikhail Gorbachev has won full approval among us as being in line with the foreign policy of states of the Warsaw Treaty.

It is true that the participants (in the meeting) were different to a large extent—the leaderships have changed in many countries. Of course we were aware that our foreign policy is being pursued in new conditions, in a period of changes taking place today in nearly all socialist countries.

Owing to its history, location and problems and tasks tackled by us today and to deep reforms and transformations, Poland is particularly interested in the process of dialogue, reapprochement between the two parts of Europe and a general rapprochement on the global scale taking palce as fast and fully as possible. We can implement our national aspirations only in these conditions.

Because the Malta summit constitutes a certain step on the road to rapprochement between the superpowers, it also sets up a certain plane for a peaceful policy of all European countries belonging to the two blocs. Hence, it is very advantageous for Poland and that is why we have expressed full support for its outcome. we are counting on it bearing fruit soon, at the next summit, in the form of far-reaching disarmament steps.

This is of particular significance for us. Our initiatives, our disarmament plan is a part of these global solutions. We are also very active in the Vienna negotiations and I think that at present we are getting additional impetus for these negotiations to end in success. I am not referring to economic aspects because they are obvious. The broader and deeper East-West cooperation is in the political sphere, the more fruitful the efforts in economic cooperation can be, and these we need very much.

Poland's Mazowiecki

LD0412215589 Warsaw PAP in English 2139 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec. 4—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki granted an interview to PAP in connection with Monday's meeting of leaders of states—parties to the Warsaw Treaty. Excerpts:

"The meeting's agenda included Mikhail Gorbachev's detailed report on, first, talks in Italy, a meeting with Pope John Paul II and, second, talks with President George Bush. I must stress here that the report's part devoted to the talk with the pope was very interesting and showed Mikhail Gorbachev's high respect for John Paul II. Mr Gorbachev put a great emphasis on the fact that it had been a very, very interesting meeting for him.

"As regards talks with President Bush, Mikhail Gorbachev presented some issues in a more detailed way. It was a sort of a review of world problems. Issues which concerned a possible progress in disarmament talks in the next six months are worth mentioning. In my opinion this is very important.

"A significant element of the meeting was the adoption of a statement by leaders of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union which condemned the 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia. I am glad that this could take place at the first meeting of the Warsaw Treaty states' leaders in which I had an opportunity to participate."

Hungary's Nemeth

LD0512130889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by Tamas Forro and Gyorgy Toth on arrival at Budapest Airport from Moscow Warsaw Pact briefing on 5 December—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Were you surprised that at the meeting there was a unanimous condemnation of the 1968 events, or was this expected?

[Nemeth] It featured in our calculations. I was surprised inasmuch as we did not get prior information about it, but this is follows naturally from previous events.

[Reporter] In the end, are you satisfied with what happened? at What level were the talks held as regards [words indistinct], including those in which we Hungarians directly participated?

[Nemeth] The briefing we were given on the summit definitely entitles us to be hopeful. cooperation and dialogue between the two superpowers is continuing on questions which are extremely (?important) and which affect us too, directly or indirectly. So, the atmosphere and mood of the meeting was definitely encouraging as regards the future.

At the same time, at a briefing of this nature, naturally a mutual exchange of opinions of the mood and meaning to which your question referred cannot be created, if only because of the shortage of time.

[Reporter] Do the two superpowers evaluate the processes in Hungary in a similar or a different way?

[Nemeth] The subject of Hungary, in this way was not on the agenda; Europe, East Europe, focal points of the world's great areas, yes, but Hungary was not highlighted separately.

[Reporter] in the wake of the Malta summit, can any changes be expected from the two superpowers in the evaluation and handling of Hungary?

[Nemeth] No, I think that the most important basic principle which was formulated by the presidents of both superpowers is that every nation chooses their own path, the chosen setup, and so on, freely and independently.

[Reporter] Did you personally find anything instructive from all that you heard about the Malta summit?

[Nemeth] I think that we must still await the lessons to be learned, and longer term conclusions should be drawn from the actions and the following steps.

[Reporter] Why did Romania not participate in the Warsaw Pact meeting?

[Nemeth] Romania was present.

[Reporter] The Hungarian communique did not bear the name of Romania.

[Nemeth] It must be a printing error; Romania was there.

[Reporter] One more question. You held talks with Premier Ryzhkov, too; the communique described the most burning questions of Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation. What chance is there that the Hungarian surplus will be eliminated and transfer to dollar accounting?

[Nemeth] I very determinedly asked—outlining the problems and worries of this year and next year—that in the real sphere, that is in goods turnover, we should search for a solution and not move in the direction of credit agreements. Within this, I pinpointed some questions relating to product groups, raw materials, energy carriers, oil deliveries, which are of great importance for us. As regards the mechanism, I handed over the document summarizing the Hungarian Government's standpoint. This issue sphere, alongside the transfer to convertibility, use of the world market price basis, fomulates very markedly also the need to increase the independence of enterprises, that is market methods, and restricting the undertaking of state obligations. So, in our conception, these two sides are very strongly connected and are conditional upon each other. We will exchange opinions on these questions at the CEMA meeting to be held next year in Sofia, around 9 January.

[Reporter] Ryzhkov said he was understanding concerning energy deliveries to Hungary. What does this mean? Hungarians are a bit anxious as to whether there will be enough gas.

[Nemeth] Well, in the short term, this means primarily that the partner will fulfill the obligations undertaken in the contract.

[Reporter] Thank you.

Hungary's Nyers on Pact Decision

LD0412192189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Gabor Izbekhi reports from Moscow. We heard the news that an important announcement was made at the Warsaw Pact summit regarding 1968:

[Izbeki] Yes. A declaration proposed by Gorbachev condemning the 1968 military invasion of Czechoslovakia was adopted. As the declaration says, the intervention was a mistake and contradicts the basic principles of the Warsaw Pact. Thus, the Soviet Union joined the countries that had already condemned the 1968 action, and they have together demonstrated the complete termination of the Brezhnev doctrine.

Rezso Nyers, who briefed us Hungarian journalists about the 4-hour informal meeting, said that Gorbachev spoke with great satisfaction about his negotiations in Malta. Nyers added to this that in today's fast-changing world, it is extraordinarily valuable if leaders of the two greats powers find a common language.

At the end of the session, leaders of all delegations gave a speech; that is why it lasted so long. Rezso Nyers spoke about the need to continue the Warsaw Pact's transformation into a political-military organization, the democratic reform of the organization, where in the place of CEMA a completely new economic organization essentially would be needed in Eastern Europe.

[Announcer] Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth were due back tonight, but due to the thick fog the Budapest Airport cannot receive planes. The two have thus remained in Moscow and presumably will fly out tomorrow.

Romania Radio on '68 Intervention Ruling

AU0412203889 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] A meeting of leaders of Warsaw Pact member countries ended in Moscow. Our country was represented at the meeting by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Mikhail Gorbachev briefed the participants on his talks with U.S. President George Bush in Malta on 2-3 December.

The leaders of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union present at today's Moscow meeting of party-state leaders of Warsaw Pact member countries declared that the sending of troops by their states into the CSSR in 1968 amounted to interference in the affairs of sovereign Czechoslovakia and should be condemned. Having interrupted the process of democratic renewal in CSSR, those illegal actions had long-term negative consequences. History has confirmed the importance of using political means to settle all problems, even in the most complex international circumstances, and strictly observing the principles of sovereignty, independence, and noninterference in domestic affairs, which should govern relations among states, in keeping with the Warsaw Pact provisions.

Bulgaria Radio

AU0412202589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] The leaders of Bulgaria, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Hungary, who gathered at the Moscow meeting, declared today that the entering of their countries' troops into the CSSR in 1968 was interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign country and should be denounced.

Having interrupted the process of democratic renewal in Czechoslovakia, these unlawful actions resulted in long-term, negative consequences.

History has confirmed how important it is, even in the most complicated international situation, to apply political means in order to settle any problems whatsoever and to strictly observe the principles of sovereignty, of independence, and of noninterference in each other's domestic affairs in interstate relations.

Comparisons of Pact Defense Ministers Communique

Prague RUDE PRAVO 1 Dec Version

AU0512125689

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 1 December in its Morning Edition on page 5 carries the communique issued by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee Session, which met in Budapest on 27-29 November. The IZVESTIYA report, entitled "Communique of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee Session," published in the 1 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 4 and 5, has been compared to the Prague RUDE PRAVO Czech version published on 1 December, page 1, revealing the following variation:

The RUDE PRAVO version omits paragraphs four, five, eleven, and fourteen, and the first sentence of paragraph sixteen of the communique.

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP 1 Dec Version

AU0412161289

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 1 December in its Morning Edition on page 5 carries the communique issued by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee Session, which met in Budapest on 27-29 November. The IZVESTIYA report, entitled "Communique of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee Session," published in the 1 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 4 and 5, has been compared to the Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP Hungarian version published on 1 December, pages 1 and 6, under the headline: "The Military-Political Situation in Europe Evaluated—Communique of the Session of the Warsaw Pact Member States' Defense Ministerial Committee," revealing the following variations:

Page 4, column two, paragraph five of communique, only sentence, to paragraph six, first sentence reads: situation in Europe. [new paragraph]

The Defense Ministers'... (omitting passage);

Page 4, column two, paragraph six, end of first sentence, to paragraph eight, first sentence reads: tension and confrontation. [new paragraph]

The session expressed... (omitting passage from paragraph six and whole of paragraph seven);

Page 5, column one, paragraph ten, first sentence, to paragraph eleven, first sentence reads: lines as well. [new paragraph]

At the same... (omitting passage);

Page 5, column two, antepenultimate paragraph of communique, first sentence, to penultimate paragraph of communique, only sentence reads: national military doctrines. [new paragraph]

Agreed decisions were... (omitting passage);

The MAGYAR HIRLAP version omits the last paragraph of the communique.

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU 1 Dec Version

AU0612134789

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 1 December in its Morning Edition on page 5 carries the communique issued by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee Session, which met in Budapest on 27-29 November. The IZVESTIYA report, entitled "Communique of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee Session," published in the 1 December Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 4 and 5, has been compared to the Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU Polish version published on 1 December, page 4, attributed to PAP and headlined: "Communique Following the Meeting of the Defense Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member-States," revealing that both versions are identical.

Carcani Commemorates Liberation, Independence

AU0612060089 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Nov 89 p 1-3

[Speech by Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at a meeting marking the 77th anniversary of Albanian independence and the 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation, in the Palace of Congresses in Tirana on 28 November: "Inexorably on the Road of Socialism"]

[Text] Comrades, the Albanian people are celebrating this year the magnificent jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation and of the triumph of the people's revolution, those decisive victories that brought about the greatest upheaval in their history.

The November months mark momentous events in our history and in the struggles of our people for freedom, independence, and progress.

November 1912 gave the Albanian people, after almost five centuries of captivity, the independence for which they had dreamed. November 1941 is related to an event that would mark the most radical turning point in the destiny of our people, the founding of the Albanian Communist Party, while November 1944 marked the birth of the new Albania that we enjoy today.

The events that we are commemorating during the month of November may belong to different historical periods, but they are closely linked with each other. During both these periods, the Albanians, few in number and poorly equipped, but undaunted in their freedom-loving and progressive aspirations, clashed with numerous and powerful enemies. The road to victory was fraught with extraordinary difficulties, but these difficulties have never intimidated the Albanian people. History had taught the Albanians that those peoples who fail to fight disappear, and that freedom is not a free gift from anyone, but that it must be won through effort, struggle, and sacrifice, without resting hopes in others. Our national renaissance, which was crowned with the Proclamation of Independence, and the Antifascist National Liberation War proved this. Our people fought, and so did not disappear. The Albanians fought, and won.

We commemorate these glorious anniversaries with legitimate pride in our past. The party has taught our people to appreciate this glorious history, to respect the patriotic, progressive, and revolutionary traditions that they have inherited. The party has taught the people to delve deeply in the past in order to learn about the present and the future.

The great step taken by Ismail Qemali and the other distinguished patriots, who 77 years ago, on 28 November 1912, raised the flag in Vlore and proclaimed national independence, crowned the gigantic efforts of our people, by challenging not only the Sublime Porte [Ottoman Empire], but also the intentions of the imperialist powers and the neighboring chauvinistic monarchies of the time to perpetuate foreign domination on our soil, to partition our country, and to erase Albania from the political map of the Balkans.

History has recognized the Albanians not only as men of the rifle, but also as men of thinking and culture. "Our soil, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "has given birth to outstanding men of the rifle and of the pen. The people have given birth to warriors and strategists, philosophers and politicians, whose hearts harbored a revolutionary spirit and who tried by all means to liberate the country from the innumerable hordes of foreign and domestic enemies." From this viewpoint, too, our people have always remained on a higher plane than their enemies and oppressors, all of whom tried to depict the Albanians as uncultured barbarians. It is not a people who are fighting for their legitimate rights, to defend and develop their language, and to promote their culture and progressive traditions, who are uncultured barbarians, but those who try to deny, despise, and erase these rights, under whatever pretext.

The Proclamation of Independence in 1912 was a great historic victory, but it was not complete and secure. It took years on end and innumerable popular movements before Albanian society managed, under the leadership of communists, to accomplish the greatest and most profound revolution in its history, which established the people's authority and opened up the new era of socialist construction in Albania.

The Antifascist National Liberation War is the most brilliant period in the glorious history of our people. From the viewpoint of its achievements, the tasks that it set and solved, the extent of the people's participation, and its consequences, this revolution represents a great qualitative leap and a memorable and historic victory. The key to this victory lay in the fact that this war and revolution were led by a genuinely Marxist-Leninist party, guided by a scientific world outlook and closely bound to the people.

During the years of the Antifascist National Liberation War, the Albanian Communist Party worked out a program which outlined solutions to the imperative problems of the time; the country's liberation, the recovery of lost freedom and independence, and the establishment of a social system that would make the people masters of their own destiny and open up the road of progress to the country.

The Albanian Communist Party saw in the people themselves the foundation of the decisive force that would wage the war against the invaders and carry out the revolution; they saw this foundation in the people's magnificent patriotic and fighting traditions, in their unequaled vitality and stoicism, and in their inexhaustible creative genius. "The new era," Enver Hoxha wrote in these years, "brought the people into play as a factor,

and brought them before the tribune of history as a stronger force than ever before."

The party, considering its attitude toward the people to be a profound question of its world-view and policy, awoke among the people a deep faith in their own resources, and the conviction that their struggle against the invader was the decisive factor which would lead to the country's liberation and determine the future.

On this basis, the party organized the political union of the entire Albanian people in the National Liberation Front, which became the foundation of a new national unity without comparison in any other earlier period of our country's history in its essence, content, breadth, and depth. This was not a coalition of chieftains, but a direct union of the broad masses of people from below, under the undivided leadership of the most faithful representative of their interests, the Albanian Communist Party.

The inexhaustible source of the indomitability and progress of our socialist homeland lies in this unity of the people round the party, which represents one of the greatest victories of the people's revolution and which, after the country's liberation, became stronger in the period of socialist construction, in the class struggle, and in accordance with the demands of the times. Let us therefore cherish this unity in our innermost hearts and strengthen it continually.

From the bosom of the people and with their full support, in the thick of the general armed uprising, the National Liberation Army was created, which at the end of the war numbered about 70,000 partisans among its ranks, a fact which shows the exceptionally broad participation, in relation to the size of the population, of the Albanian people in the antifascist struggle. This army, relying on its own resources, fighting with great self-sacrifice and courage, liberated the country's entire territory. This was a very special and highly important characteristic of our National Liberation War.

The Albanian people's National Liberation War was conceived by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, and became a reality as a constituent and indivisible active part of the antifascist struggle of the peoples. In this context, the party devoted special concern to cooperation and brotherhood with neighboring Balkan peoples.

The Albanian people honorably carried out their duties as equal members of the world antifascist coalition of the peoples, shedding on the altar of victory over fascism the blood of 28,000 martyred sons and daughters, hundreds of whom gave their lives beyond the borders of the homeland. They did this in the name of the freedom of the people and their homeland, and in the name of the liberation of the peoples and a conclusive victory over fascism, in a noble internationalist spirit. In relation to its area and the size of its population, Albania is in the front rank of countries which have suffered human and material losses.

It was the great merit of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha that from the start, in accordance with our country's specific conditions, they closely tied together the cause of national liberation with that of imposing the power of the people. In the thick of the armed struggle, the foundations of the power of the foreign invaders and the reactionary ruling classes were demolished piece by piece, and a new order arose. Passing through certain principal stages which were brilliant examples of the strategy and political tactics of our party in the war years—the Conference of Peze, the meeting of Labinot, and the Congresses of Permet and Berat—this new order, immediately after the victory of 29 November 1944, began to create the structures of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which opened the road of socialism to our country's people.

However, the question of the people's power remains a key issue throughout the entire historical period of socialism. The party therefore insisted, and still insists, that we maintain and continually strengthen the power of the people, democratizing it ever further, and especially not allowing it to be corroded by the dangerous rust of bureaucracy. The teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on this question and the guidelines and tasks laid down by the eighth Central Committee plenum are of vital importance. We must always keep them at the center of our attention and act on them, step by step, every day.

In celebrating the glorious anniversaries of November, we recall not only the victories we have won, but also the sacrifices we had to make and the blood that was shed by entire generations for this territory, our dear homeland.

Our deepest respect goes to the heroic partisan fighters, who spared nothing for the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution. These are immortal heroes, who shed their blood for the new Albania we enjoy today. Today's generation and those to come will be grateful to them, and will bow their heads in respect at the memory of their sacred achievements. They will remain down through the centuries as heralds on the road of the homeland's freedom, independence, and progress.

In recalling the 45th anniversary of the victory of the revolution, the installation of the people's power, and the birth of the new Albania we enjoy today, the hearts and minds of the party and all the people turn with love and deep respect to the great and unforgettable leader, founder and guide of the party, inspirer, organizer, and commander of the National Liberation War, the architect of the country's socialist construction, Comrade Enver Hoxha. His ideas, teachings, and imposing achievements are embedded in the firm foundations of socialist Albania, and will endure for centuries.

Comrades, when Albania embarked on the road of development 45 years ago, the party and people were faced with large, complex, and difficult strategic problems requiring solution. A deep political, economic, and

social transformation had to be carried out, in order to overcome as fast as possible the backwardness of centuries we inherited, and to set the country on the road to socialism. We had to consolidate the political independence we had won, and create conditions for the thorough material, cultural, and spiritual emancipation of the whole of society. We had to develop a wide range of productive forces, transform the structure of the economy, and increase the productivity of social labor. It was not easy to carry out these tasks successfully. They required a total solution, deeply thought out, and indicating clear prospects for the future.

Our people were convinced from their experience of history that the way to carry out these vital tasks was the one shown by the party, the road of socialism. Life has proved that socialism has been the system producing the best results in our country's history.

Casting a backward glance at the road followed in the 45 years of the people's power, we see the fast momentum of the country's development in every sphere. The social product of our socialist economy is now 25 times greater than before liberation. The colossal investments that have been made in industry, agriculture, transportation, education, health, and other fields have created a firm material and technical base. Dynamic material and social development has ensured that approximately one person in two is employed or pensioned, and one in three or four is in education.

The country's industrialization lies at the heart of the economic policy devised by the party for development on the socialist road. At every stage of our socialist construction, the industrialization program has aimed at exploiting all our natural resources and effectively utilizing our great human potential in the interests of the people and the country's progress and independence. Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, "If today we have complex and diversified heavy and light industries—relying on the country's resources, covering the economy's needs, with a single energy system and a positive energy balance—a harmonious development of industry and agriculture, and a mature workers class spread throughout the country's territory, to its remotest corners, it is due to the farsighted policy of industrialization consistently pursued by the party under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha."

Industry today produces about 60 percent of the general social product, and is the source of about one-half of the national income and two-thirds of the country's export production. Every year, 8-9 million tonnes of useful minerals and fuels alone are extracted, compared with a few hundred thousand tonnes 4 decades ago. These developments have lifted Albania to a new, higher level.

The agrarian problem, which the party has always seen as a complex whole of political, economic, and social factors, assumes a central place in the party's economic policy. The pillar of this policy has been the socialist collectivization of agriculture, which is one of the greatest historic victories of our socialist construction. Setting the peasantry on the socialist road was of vital importance not only for agricultural development and for the creation of a new way of life in the countryside, but for the outcome of the entire country's socialist construction.

The collectivization of agriculture, which was carried out prudently, with special care, and with the peasantry's free will, took shape and grew stronger with the help of such imposing projects as large-scale soil improvement and irrigation schemes, which more than doubled the area of cultivable land, and with the creation of large orchards and the intensification of arable and livestock production. About one-third of capital investments were directly used for the needs of agriculture, apart from the large funds used to create branches of industry to serve agriculture, particularly the chemical fertilizer industry. All these things have changed the face of the country and radically transformed the appearance of agriculture and our countryside. The party's correct and farsighted policy has led to an ever stronger alliance between the workers class and the peasantry. Our patriotic and hard-working peasantry have deserved, and will continue to deserve, all the support and every contribution of society.

We now have an advanced and mechanized agriculture, making use of chemicals, and relying on up-to-date science and technology, which every year becomes less vulnerable to weather conditions and natural disasters. For more than 1 decade now, our socialist agriculture, with its great results and up-to-date levels of yield, has been meeting the people's needs for bread and other staple foods, supplying the food and light industries with raw materials, and daily expanding our opportunities for foreign trade.

The cooperativist order in our country, which has fully shown its worth and demonstrated its inexhaustible dynamism and vitality, is now blazing new paths. The establishment of economic ties between group and state property, the priority given to the intensification of production over wide areas, the introduction of industrial activities, and the adaptation of crop structures to natural conditions, are processes being carried out to the benefit of greater production potential in agriculture. Collective livestock, the primary kind of collectivization, is another step toward making full use of the advantages of socialist property in agriculture. The greatest possible harmonization of economic methods in planning and management has given fresh impetus to the development of agricultural production and its improved efficiency. The stability of the rural populace as the basis for economic conditions, the introduction of urban customs, and the elevation of the material and cultural living standards of the peasantry have become powerful factors for the progress of the country's entire life. The experience of socialist development in our rural areas is a living example that testifies to the correctness of the road

followed by the party and refutes all the practices of revisionism, with its reimposition of private property and capitalism.

All the economic and social policies of our party and state are guided by the great and constant purpose of continually increasing the people's prosperity, meeting ever more fully their material needs, and their needs for education, culture, health, and so forth. Our people are not awash with wealth, but enjoy the fruits of their own labor and sweat, and have a guaranteed present and future. They are not in any way obliged to anybody for what they have created. All the many good things of socialism seem normal to us, for we experience and enjoy them every day. However, they are so tremendous and on such a large scale that they represent a major breach with the past. Before the liberation, Albania had fewer than one million inhabitants who could barely fill their bellies with bread, and who lived in destitution and under countless deprivations. Today, we are more than three million, and we have secured for ourselves everything necessary for a normal life, which continually grows richer and more prosperous. It has taken developed countries more than 2 centuries to double the life expectancy of their populations. Socialist Albania has achieved this in less than 5 decades. People used to be born and grow old without leaving their village and its immediate surroundings, whereas now the entire homeland has been transformed into a social and economic whole, and every corner of the country makes its contribution and in turn receives its share. More than 500,000 people use the national transportation network in one day. The electrification of the entire country to its most distant corners, the adequate supply of drinking water to both town and countryside, a free health service, the emancipation of family life, and a comprehensive social security system in town and countryside will remain memorials to the epoch of the party.

All this dynamic but harmonious development of the economy and other areas of life has also exerted a positive influence on demographic trends. Albania does not suffer from the phenomenon of an aging population and all the undesirable consequences this has. On the contrary, our country's population is maintaining a high growth rate and its average age is no more than 27 years. Young people show signs of physical development 1 year earlier than they did 10 years ago.

Thorough and radical changes have also taken place in culture and in people's social and spiritual lives. In place of ignorance, with more than 80 percent of the population illiterate, and in place of old-fashioned customs and a way of thinking that made women slaves, we have an extensive network of schools of all kinds, libraries, houses and hearths of culture, and scientific and technical institutes. The entire country is now moving toward universal secondary education. Albanian women are now emancipated, and have become a major force in our social life. A whole army of the people's intelligentsia has been created; their ranks include more than 70,000 college-educated cadres and specialists and more than 300,000 others with secondary vocational training. The basic statistics in this field have reached high levels that can even be compared with those of some of the world's developed countries.

That is what socialism has done for our people. All the good things they enjoy today are tied to the socialist order. Our people's aspirations for new and higher development, for a better, more cultured, and prosperous life in the future, are tied to socialism. The 45-year-long experience of Albania is a living testimony to socialism's vitality.

The victories built upon in these 45 years of the country's economic and social development assume greater dimensions and value when we consider that they have been achieved from our own resources, relying on our own human, financial, and economic potential, and on the knowledge and thinking of our wonderful people. The constant implementation of the principle of self-reliance has made our socialist economy more able every day to stand on its own feet, has secured the country's genuine independence and sovereignty, and has enabled it to successfully resist all the humiliating pressures and influences of the capitalist-revisionist world and to march unswervingly on the socialist road.

The conception and practical implementation of the principle of self-reliance, which Albania pursues in every field, does not aim at self-seclusion or indicate a tendency to autarchy, as those who do not know or do not wish to understand the reality of our country try to depict it based on certain prejudices against socialist Albania. On the contrary, life has shown that self-reliance has not only not hampered Albania, but has created conditions for Albania to continually augment the volume of trade and to expand its economic, cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation with different countries, with whom we now exchange one-tenth of our social product. We will also continue on this road in the future, and will never accept forms and practices of economic relations which encroach on our political independence and our socialist social order and lead to subjection and loss of national sovereignty.

Our victories and achievements in all spheres of production and social life have been further built on and enriched in this jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation and the victory of the people's revolution. The mobilization and zeal for labor that has burst out everywhere, the revolutionary movements and initiatives that have been undertaken to boost production and efficiency, to shorten construction schedules and the commissioning dates of new economic and sociocultural projects, to increase exports, and so forth, are producing a series of tangible results. In comparison with last year, the social product this year is expected to be seven percent higher; national incomes are expected to be higher by 10 percent, production for society by 12 percent, the volume of foreign trade by 25 percent, retail turnover by six percent, and so forth.

The achievements of this year and the entire ninth 5-year period constitute a firm basis for new and wide-ranging developments in the future, in order to raise the economy, culture, and the people's prosperity to a new level of progress, emancipation, and well-being.

Our country has great natural resources. Their speedier introduction into economic use and shorter raw material processing cycles constitute the main guidelines for the development of our industry in the future. Industries producing common consumer goods in particular will develop faster, with respect to both quantity and quality, to meet the people's growing demands. Industry will set higher targets for itself to ensure sources of accumulation, to expand exports, and to improve the productivity of social labor.

The experience that has been gained, the material and technical base that has been created, and the dynamism of economic relations create opportunities to accelerate the development of agriculture and to deepen its intensification in all regions of the country. Further steps are to be taken to improve the structure of production, better adapting it to natural conditions and the human potential in the countryside. Particular efforts will be made to accelerate the development of the livestock-raising sector, to increase the efficiency of labor in agriculture, and to achieve the qualitative changes needed in the structure of the population's diet. The progress of agriculture will be one of the strongest pillars of the independent development of the entire economy.

The development of production forces and the emancipation of social life will be supported and preceded by the extension of the construction and transportation sectors, vital services, and qualitative strides in the fields of education, culture, and science. The intensification of the economy and the increased scientific potential will require productivity and quality at work, creativity, and economic and social efficiency.

Through the economic and social policy that we are pursuing, the improvement of production relations, the deepening of socialist democracy, and the narrowing of fundamental gaps between rural and urban areas, our country, under the leadership of our AWP, will progress firmly toward the strategic objective of the complete construction of the socialist society.

Comrades, the tasks confronting us in further promoting the country's socialist construction, in conformity with our present stage of development, assume a special meaning, importance, and acuteness under the present international situation, particularly with regard to the events that have taken place in the Soviet Union and other countries of East Europe in recent years, where there is open advancement toward the complete restoration of capitalism in the economy and in the superstructure.

The AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha made it clear, not now, but decades ago, from the time when the revisionists imposed their course in the Soviet Union and some other countries, that this course would undermine socialist relations and would lead to the restoration of capitalism, crises, defeats, and severe disillusionment. Now, even those who adopted a skeptical position toward our party's analyses, are compelled to admit that the AWP was absolutely right. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the eighth AWP Central Committee plenum, it is not communism that failed in those countries, it is not the doctrine of Karl Marx that failed, but on the contrary, it is the deviation from the road of socialism and the replacement of the proletarian ideology by the bourgeois ideology that led to all-round disintegration.

Our party has never considered the struggle against revisionism to be a mere theoretical polemic, but as a profoundly practical matter, a matter related to the fate of the socialist society itself. That is why it never reduced this struggle to mere criticism of revisionism, but learned lessons and gained experience from what happened in the countries where the revisionists came to power, and adopted measures to ensure that such a tragedy will not happen in our country. This is a remarkable merit of our party and we act in the same way currently. Current events in East Europe strengthen our belief in the correctness and vital importance of this position.

Our concept of the socialism that we are building has never been and is not now a rigid one. We have viewed and continue to view our socialist society in continuous dialectical development and renewal. In the course of this process something becomes out of date and becomes an obstacle, new problems arise, that cannot be resolved in former ways, forms, and methods, and new opportunities are created, that did not exist previously, and new and broader horizons open up. We therefore idolize nothing and do not hesitate to make necessary changes. We have been continually seeking and continue to seek new solutions that are better adapted to the changes that occur, to the demands of the time, and to the new possibilities that are being created. But we make these changes, and will continue to make them, within the framework of our socialist system and principles, never outside them, and never on the road of revisionist reformation and of capitalism. We have full confidence in socialism as the most just and most democratic and human social order, capable of meeting all challenges of history, of providing solutions to all problems on the basis of socialist relations, and of opening up boundless horizons for progress in all fields.

The party has been and remains a sure guarantee for progress on the brilliant road of socialism. The 45 year-old experience of socialist Albania proves that the existence of the Marxist-Leninist party, its undivided leadership, and the monolithic unity of the people around the party constitute a decisive factor for the existence of a genuinely socialist order and a major guarantor for its continuous construction, defense, and development toward new heights. The revisionist tragedy did not take place in Albania because, applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninist and of Comrade

Enver Hoxha step by step, the party was always preserved as a revolutionary party, pure and strong in its proletarian principles, because its leadership in every aspect of our socialist society was never allowed to weaken and to fade out, and because in our country the party has always preserved and continually revitalized its links with the masses.

One of the fundamental problems of socialism is the continuous development and deepening of socialist democracy, the increasingly broader and efficient participation of the masses in resolving the problems of society and of the state, in the elaboration of policies, in the decisionmaking process, and in exercising control functions over everything and everyone. Drawing lessons from what has happened in the Soviet Union and some other countries, where bureaucratic distortions and the removal of the masses from the country's administration opened up the road to revisionism and led to the degeneration of the socialist state, our party has waged a determined struggle against this great danger. However, we do not consider this danger to have been overcome. The struggle against the evil of bureaucracy, the efforts to open up new horizons to the development of democracy by the masses and to strengthen the links of the party and state with the masses remains continually on the agenda. The eighth AWP Central Committee plenum drew attention to this forcefully. It opened up a broad field of action to further deepen the process of the democratization of life in society and the state.

Our socialist economy has developed and continues to develop in new and original ways. Socialist production relations have opened up broad avenues to the development of production forces. However, contradictions do arise in this process, which must be overcome in a correct and timely manner. What is of fundamental importance is that production relations should be stimulating, that they should increase the interest of people in work and production, that they should correctly harmonize the general interest of society with group interest and the interest of every individual worker, eradicating the purely administrative methods of managing the economy and replacing them with economic methods.

We see the present and the future of our socialist society from the viewpoint of constant and dynamic change and development, as a constant search for solutions to problems which arise. Our party has made it clear that only on the great principled questions pertaining to the defense of our socialist country's freedom, independence, and national sovereignty, the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist party throughout the country's life; the protection and consolidation of socialist property and of our people's authority, and the question of distribution according to the quantity and quality of everyone's work, will there never be any kind of change or withdrawal from our positions. In all these fundamental matters our party and people will constantly be sharply vigilant and will consistently wage the class struggle against everything that obscures, weakens, or affects principled positions and the lofty interests of socialism and the country, no matter how slightly.

Comrades, On this great jubilee, we cannot fail to speak about the foreign policy of our party and state, which has been and continues to be one of the basic and major factors of the successes and victories attained by our country during these 45 years of its free life.

The foreign policy of socialist Albania is a policy that rose from the people's revolution, which led not only to national liberation, but also to social liberation, a policy that emerged from the profound and centuries-old freedom-loving aspirations, from the powerful antifascist and democratic spirit that characterized the resistance of the peoples during World War II, and the ardent internationalism of the communists.

It is a policy that was consolidated by the titanic efforts of the party and the people, led by the great Enver Hoxha, to meet the pressure, conspiracies, and blockades of international reaction, which did not want to reconcile itself to the establishment of the people's authority in Albania and sought to transform our country into an obedient, subjugated, and enslaved country under the heels of the great imperialist powers. The substance, goals, and directions of this policy are also closely bound with the socialist system established in Albania. This policy is inconceivable and even inapplicable without socialism and outside of it. Freedom, independence, and national sovereignty without socialism would not reflect a reality, but only empty words.

The consolidation of the country's freedom and independence, the full and unconditional exercise of national sovereignty, the defense of the victories of the people's revolution and of the peaceful labor of our people has always been at the center of our foreign policy and its major goal and objective. This determines also our position toward international events and our concrete actions in the field of international relations, as well as our assessments of various contemporary problems.

We have believed and have proven that we can live, create, and defend ourselves through our own efforts, without being indebted to anyone and without being obliged to anyone for anything.

We have not entered the political, economic, and military integrations that have become so fashionable, not because of any particularism, but because we have not wanted our sovereignty and our independent judgment to be limited, because we do not want our actions to be hampered by various contractual preconditions. We have opposed these integrations proceeding from a firm belief that all rapprochement and cooperation between the peoples, can only come from fully free, sovereign, and equal states, and not on the basis of hegemonistic and expansionist policies.

The very presence of imperialist powers in these integrations and their determining role suffices to understand what kind of rights the other partners enjoy, how much they are heeded, and to what extent their interests are being considered.

When we oppose the aggressive policies of the superpowers and the neocolonialist methods of exploiting the peoples, such as enslaving credits and debts, the discriminating system of exploitation imposed by big capital in international economic relations, we are being accused of pursuing an isolationist policy. If by isolation they mean our refusal to get entangled in these cogs, we would repeat forcefully that socialist Albania has never accepted them and will never accept them.

Certainly, this resolute and principled position has compelled us to make sacrifices, because such has the world been and continues to be, filled with threats and blackmail, filled with dangers and the unexpected. But the price is very small if we compare it with the strength of our policy which has resulted in our security and sovereignty, the country's defense, and our socialist victories.

Albania has always desired and continues to desire friendship and cooperation with all countries, but in freedom and full equality, respecting each other's sovereignty, everyone's right to choose the social system that it wants, freely and without interference, on the basis of the well-known and publicly-accepted principles of peaceful coexistence.

We have supported the inalienable right of every people to be free, independent, and sovereign in their country, not merely as an ideological concept, but also because we cannot deny to others what we wish for ourselves.

Albania will always be on the side of those who defend the freedom and independence threatened by imperialist goals, in the same way that it will always be in solidarity with the revolutionary, liberation, and democratic forces in the world, and with all those who are against war and for peace.

It is proceeding from this principle and basic criterion that we have also viewed and assessed events in Europe. Albania has been against the division of Europe into military blocs, against the presence of foreign bases on this continent, against global confrontation and the cold war, and against the creation of closed economic unions. These splits and divisions have caused great harm to the peoples. They have kept them under tension and the general insecurity arising from the unchecked rivalry and aggressiveness of the superpowers on our continent, and under the terror of atomic war.

Recent events in East Europe have created a confused situation, which makes the established balances even more precarious than they used to be.

Since the changes that are taking place are the result of the ideological and political deformation that took place there in the sixties, it is difficult to predict to what domestic and external conclusions they may lead. Both in the East and in the West, these events have caused the most varied illusions and euphoria. However, one thing is certain, that when confronted with reality illusions change quickly into disillusionment and euphoria into desperation. The dangers arising from the destabilized situation in these countries could have harmful consequences, not only for their own people, but also for international relations.

It is very desirable and in the common interest that all-round cooperation should replace confrontation in Europe. But if this cooperation is burdened by demands and conditions for political changes and for changes in the economic systems of various countries, it would still remain a confrontation, but under a different name.

As a Balkan country directly interested in the stability of our peninsula, we have followed events in this region with special attention. We notice with pleasure a general desire to initiate a fruitful dialogue between the countries of this region in order to utilize the numerous possibilities of establishing cooperation in all fields of mutual interest, as well as to strengthen peace and security in our region.

The process that has been started is promising and Albania, for its part, will spare no effort to ensure its constant progress, despite the existing difficulties of which we are aware. We hope that the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, which is due to be held next year in Tirana, will provide a new contribution toward the rapprochement, friendship, and growing cooperation between our countries.

In the same way that it is interested in strengthening multilateral Balkan cooperation, Albania is also interested in strengthening good-neighborly relations with all the countries surrounding us in order to increase mutual cooperation, understanding, and confidence. It is in this spirit that we have considered the Adriatic Initiative and have expressed our interest in it.

It is in the same spirit that we have been guided in our efforts to establish as normal relations as possible with Yugoslavia, which unfortunately are not.. The anti-Albanian campaign that has been going for a long time now, prevented the Yugoslav leadership from viewing contemporary realities objectively and coolly; realities that cannot be reconciled with the existence of national inequalities and the lack of a desire for good-neighborly relations.

The solution to the problems of Kosovo, not through violence and tanks, but on the basis of the full and inalienable respect for the national and democratic rights of Albanians; not through murder and imprisonment, insults and discrimination, but through dialogue and respect for the will and desires of the people, would greatly help overcome the numerous and severe difficulties that Yugoslavia is experiencing, to strengthen its stability and progress, and to strengthen the confidence of neighboring countries in its foreign policy.

The current international situation is in movement and constantly changing. The party has constantly urged that we should follow them attentively and draw pertinent conclusions in order to act in the interest of defending the country's freedom and independence and the peaceful labor of our people.

Remaining loyal to the principles of our foreign policy, by which we have been guided and have brought us all those victories, socialist Albania will always remain an active participant in the struggle to strengthen peace and international security, a resolute supporter of all democratic and progressive processes in international relations between states and peoples.

Comrades, celebrating the jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution, we look at the future optimistically. The historic achievements of these 45 years have created a sound situation in all respects. All the necessary conditions and premises exist to further promote the country's socialist construction and to raise it to a new qualitative level, to make our beloved country more beautiful, more developed, and more powerful, and to make the lives of our people better and more joyful. Our AWP led, by Comrade Ramiz Alia, which is consistently following and creatively developing Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of our unforgettable leader, Enver Hoxha, is a guarantee of this. Our magnificent people, who are industrious, patriotic, and invincible, united around the party like a single body, are a guarantee of this; our people's authority, closely bound with the masses, and being constantly strengthened and democratized, is a guarantee of this. Our country has a strong defense and a sound socialist economy, a consolidated and stable economy, capable of meeting all the problems raised by the dialectical development of our society and to set itself new and higher goals. Nothing can stop us on our road.

Let us mobilize all the forces and all our physical and mental energies to honorably fulfill the tasks facing us and to enter the last year of the current 5-year period and the next 5-year period well-prepared and ready to achieve new successes and victories.

Happy November festivities!

Long live our people!

Long live the 45th Liberation Anniversary!

Long live the AWP and its Central Committee led by Comrade Ramiz Alia!

Glory to the immortal revolutionary deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Messages Sent in Recognition of Liberation

Bulgaria's Mladenov

AU0612173789 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89

[Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Petur Mladenov, chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria—date not given]

[Text] It is my pleasure, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the liberation from fascism and capitalism and the victory of the people's revolution in Albania, to convey to you and the fraternal Albanian people our most cordial greetings and sincere wishes for new successes on the road of progress and prosperity for socialist Albania.

I am convinced that the relations between our two countries will continue to develop in the traditional spirit of friendship and trust and in the interest of the Bulgarian and Albanian peoples and of peace and security in the Balkans and in Europe.

Greece's Sartzetakis

AU0612181589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Khristos Sartzetakis, president of the Republic of Greece—date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the anniversary of Albania's liberation, in the name of the Greek people, as well as personally, I would like to convey to you cordial congratulations and best wishes for the well-being and prosperity of the Albanian people.

I am convinced that the friendly relations between our neighboring countries will develop further to our mutual benefit and to strengthen peace and security in Europe and in our region.

PRC Leaders

AU0612160289 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, from Yang Shangku, President of the People's Republic of China, and Li Peng, chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of China—date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation and the victory of the people's revolution, in the name of the Chinese Government and people, we convey to the Albanian Government and people greetings and best wishes for the country's prosperity and the happiness of the people.

Turkey's Ozal

AU0612180989 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[Message to Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, from Turgut Ozal, president of the Republic of Turkey—date not given]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, I convey to Your Excellency, in the name of the Turkish nation and personally, sincere greetings and best wishes for your personal health and happiness, and I express the conviction that the friendly relations between Turkey and Albania will continue to develop in the future to the mutual interest of our two countries.

Mladenov Talks in Moscow 'A New Beginning'

AU0612113389 Sofia BTA in English 0809 GMT 6 Dec 89

["New Beginning in Bulgaro-Soviet Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA commentator Valeri Naydenov)—The first visit of Mr Petur Mladenov in the USSR as a party and state leader, and his meeting with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, are viewed by the Bulgarian public as a new beginning in the traditionally close relations between the two countries.

In the conditions of fast political changes that have spread over the eastern part of the European continent, the Bulgarian citizens attach even greater importance to these relations. They were and continue to be a mighty impetus for democratic changes. "Never before the faith of the ordinary Bulgarian in the Soviet Union, in the motherland of socialist revolution, has not been bigger than it is at present in the time of the great perestroyka of socialism," pointed out Petur Mladenov in an interview for PRAVDA on the eve of his meeting with the Soviet leader. [sentence as received] After this meeting he added: "It is of importance that the restructuring in the Soviet Union is undergoing development in all spheres of life, we would also like to make use of this experience." Yesterday's meeting imposes new tone in the Bulgaro- Soviet relations, which corresponds better to the realities in the modern world. It is more business-like, free of the showiness and empty declarations of the recent past. That is of special importance at present when both countries must solve serious economic problems and need clear-cut criteria, glasnost and objective assessment of the processes.

An example of such glasnost was also the press conference which was given by the Bulgarian leader immediately after the meeting it itself is a precedent which confirms his words for PRAVDA: "We want to have contacts with the rest of the world as an open, prospering and democratic socialist state." [sentence as received]

The announcement that a visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to Bulgaria is forthcoming was met in Sofia with great satisfaction. The popularity of the Soviet leader in the world is probably biggest here, where he is accepted as a symbol of a new, more democratic and more humane epoch in the development of socialism. And even more delightful is the fact that the new Bulgarian leader quickly found a friendly language with him— the language which is natural and traditional for the two peoples.

Yordanov Receives Soviet Deputy Chief Arbiter

AU3011092889 Sofia BTA in English 2122 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Vladimir Isaichev, first deputy chief arbiter of the USSR, who is heading the delegation of the Soviet State Arbitration. It is visiting this country at the invitation of the Bulgarian Supreme State Arbitration.

Measures were outlined for the further development and deepening of the contacts and cooperation between these institutions.

Mladenov Greets SFRY Leaders, PLO's 'Arafat

AU2811214089 Sofia BTA in English 2032 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 28 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and State Council president has cabled greetings to Mr Milan Pancevski, chairman of the Presidency of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and to Mr Janes Drnovsek, chairman of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, on the occasion of that country's National Day.

A conviction is expressed that in the time of restructuring of socialism, dynamization of relations and cooperation between the BCP and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is gaining an ever greater significance for the development of good-neighborliness and versatile cooperation between our peoples and countries in the spirit of socialist choice, for the strengthening of peace in Europe.

X X X

Mr Petur Mladenov has cabled greetings to Mr Yasir 'Arafat, the president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity With the Struggle of the Palestinian People.

The cable stresses that Bulgaria has always maintained solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of its only legal representative, the PLO, for the realization of its irreversible national rights, the right of self-determination included.

It is stressed that in the conditions of the new political realities in the world, the holding of an international conference for peace in the Middle East, under the auspices of the UNO and with the participation of all interested parties, the PLO included, is the most efficient mechanism, which can bring to a just regulation in the Middle East and can guarantee the interests and security of all countries which are included in the conflict.

A conviction is expressed that Bulgaria will in future, too, continue to extend principled and consistent support to the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for the founding of their independent state, to all international efforts to find an all-embracing and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict.

Transport Agreement With United Arab Emirates

AU2911193689 Sofia BTA in English 1820 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—Today was signed the first agreement between the Governments of Bulgaria and the United Arab Emirates for cooperation in air communications.

The document regulates the recently opened air routes: Sofia-Abu Dhabi-Colombo-Bangkok-Sofia; Sofia-Colombo-Sofia, as well as all questions related to the opening and exploitation of regular air routes between the two countries. The agreement enables the Balkan Bulgarian Airlines Company and their partners of the United Emirates to search for new ways of increasing the efficiency of their flights.

The agreement provides conditions for broadening of the international transport activity of the Bulgarian Airlines as well as preconditions for activation of the economic cooperation of other Bulgarian companies and organizations with the United Arab Emirates and the countries of the region of the Persian Gulf and Asia.

Interpol Votes in Bulgaria as Member

AU2811213889 Sofia BTA in English 2038 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Paris, November 28 (BTA)—Bulgaria was approved today as a member of the International Criminal Police Organization known as Interpol. At the 58th session of the General Assembly of Interpol which opened today in Lyon, our country's candidature was considered together with the issue for approving of two other countries—Mozambique and Cape Verde, with which the number of member countries of this intergovernmental organization reached 150.

The voting took place in the new modern building of Interpol, opened yesterday by French President Francois Mitterrand. Bulgaria's candidature was approved with the support of 100 delegations from representatives of the 131 countries participating in the session. In the conditions of openness to the world and freedom of travel outside the borders, the membership in Interpol provides Bulgaria with wider opportunities for protection of its citizens.

Besides Bulgaria, there are other socialist countries among the Interpol member countries: Hungary, Romania, China, Cuba, Yugoslavia. According to information in the French press the issue is studied now of the approval of the Soviet Union.

Zarev Cites Foreign Debt as $10 Billion

AU0712094989 Sofia BTA in English 0816 GMT 7 Dec 89

["About the State of the Economy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—Bulgaria's foreign currency debts amount to 10 billion dollars, said last night Mr Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of economy and planning at a meeting with students from the Karl Marx Higher Institute of Economics.

He made a survey of the grave state of the economy, characterized by strongly disorganized home market and finances. Dwelling on the reasons which had brought the economy to the brink of the abyss, Mr Kiril Zarev pointed at the most significant and urgent measures which should be undertaken and outlined the new approaches and ways which the planning bodies are seeking to come out of the crisis. Priority has the need to stop immediately the growth of the country's debts, to stabilize the lev, to introduce intensity to production and improve the state of the market by mostly providing consumers' goods. This will be achieved by the introduction of various forms of ownership, development of the private economy and cooperative activity, by establishing a modern taxation system and planning "from below upwards."

The students demanded that legal responsibility be sought from the culprits for the country's present political and socioeconomic state, as well as for the resignations of those of them who are holding leading party and state positions.

Reasons for Electric Power Cuts Given

AU0612152589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 89 p 2

[Plamen Enchev article: "Electric Power Supplies 'Short-Circuited'"]

[Text] Could one have foreseen the "surprise" of the interruptions in electric power supplies for varying periods throughout the country during the past 2 days? The specialists will have to provide the answer to this question. However, the fact remains that since Sunday evening [3 December], the telephones in the editorial office have been ringing continuously with alarmed enquiries: "Why is there no power? How long will this situation last?"

At around 2100 yesterday we contacted Danail Danailov, chief expert of the Central Control Room Administration of the Energy System in the "Energy Industry" Association. This is his explanation:

"At the moment the national energy system is not meeting the needs of about 7 percent of the country's consumers. The practical effect was that at 1700 on Sunday, we began to cut off electricity supplies. This was necessary because emergency shutdowns of several generating capacities occurred simultaneously. Today one generating unit at the Varna Thermoelectric Power Stations has already been repaired. We have received information that at the moment one unit at the Maritsa-East No. 2 Thermoelectric Power Station and another at the

Dimitrovgrad Plant are being heated up. Intense work is continuing at the Dimo Dichev and Ruse Thermoelectric Power Plants.

"The Kozloduy Nuclear Electric Power Plant is operating at full capacity, with the exception of the No. 5 generating unit, which is working at half-power because of a fault in a turbopump outside the reactor, which is being repaired. All this necessitated introducing restrictions on electricity consumption. Preliminary lists for the schedule of power cuts have been drawn up among the municipalities and the relevant electricity supply enterprises. They are to be made known to the citizens through the local mass media. We expect the entire energy system to return to normal operation by Wednesday evening."

The unfortunate coincidence of problems developing simultaneously at several power stations has led to the current temporary difficulty. We are well aware that the reserves of our energy system are not so large. Even after the generating capacities are brought back into normal operation, power workers will face major difficulties unless they receive assistance from the consumers. This assistance should be given in the form of sensible and thrifty use of electricity in both the national economy and at home.

'Crisis' of Bulgarian Agriculture Discussed

AU0512172389 Sofia BTA in English 1413 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—Recent estimations about the state of the Bulgarian Village and agriculture are "crisis", "deep repressions". Nikolay Tsekov writes today in RABOTNICHESKO DELO: "The Bulgarian Village Is in a Demographic, Social and Economic Knockdown".

For 40 years, the population in the Bulgarian village has decreased by 2.5 million people. Now there are 200,000 people less who are living in the villages compared to 1900 when the population throughout the country was 2.5 times smaller. The phenomenon known all over Europe, has acquired "frenzied rates" in Bulgaria. Many regions, which flourished in the past, have almost become desolate now. More than 800 villages which had been existing for ages vanished. The complete autarky with agricultural produce gave way to its import. The arable land is lessening. Soil fertility is worsening. The material and technical base of agriculture and the foodstuffs industry is worn out. The authors of articles add to these conclusions some other economic and social consequences.

According to the article in RABOTNICHESKO DELO today the reason lies in the theory and practice of spontaneous collectivisation of land and the farm equipment parallel with industrialization, where the objective necessity has been switched by a model of forcible generalization, introduced from the outside and alien to Bulgarian traditions. "The natural coexistence of private, cooperative and state form of ownership was replaced by a militant dogmatism and aggression on nature, economy and society."

Nikolay Tsekov thinks that the revival of the Bulgarian village can be efficient only in the existence of the three forms of ownership.

He proposes concrete measures for healing of agriculture. To him, the first step necessary, is the development of alternative programmes for return of private ownership and the rendering of meaning to the cooperative initiative. He, like her authors, proposes legislative measures in this direction. Decentralization of monopoly-associated processing enterprises is recommended. There are demands for a new taxation policy which will strengthen the financial base of self-managing.

KOOPERATIVNO SELO declares itself for decisive changes of the economic conditions, under which the agricultural enterprises are working, for reconsideration of the ratio between prices of production means and the purchase prices of agricultural produce.

The opinion of several authors in this daily is that agriculture should develop with priority.

Further on Council of Ministers Session

AU0512132689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 pp 1, 6

[Atanas N. Atanasov report: "More Democracy and Social Justice"]

[Excerpts] A session of the Council of Ministers was held in Sofia today. It discussed important questions related to the further development of the processes of renewal under way in our country, and to its development as a law-governed and democratic state. The country's general situation, the processes under way, and the state of economic affairs were discussed. The past weeks were marked by an active and dynamic social life and by a broad discussion on important issues of our further development. The positive impact of the meetings held by party and state leaders in various towns all over Bulgaria was assessed. An active dialogue with the population and with the labor collectives is in progress today.

Full approval for the changes under way was expressed at the session. The aforementioned changes are stimulating the people's initiative and creative spirit. They are leading toward the restoration of social justice. Despite frequent critical remarks, the atmosphere of the meetings can be described as constructive and contributes to overcoming the current difficulties facing our country. [passage omitted]

The government discussed draft laws expected to be submitted to the National Assembly for amendments to the legislation and for the further democratization of our

society. These draft laws are related to rallies and demonstrations, to citizens' public associations, and to Penal Code amendments, as well as to amnesty for acts applying to the amendments. On the basis of the first draft law, citizens can no longer be persecuted for organizing rallies and demonstrations as long as they are not of a criminal nature, according to the Penal Code. The order of convening rallies and demonstrations shall be determined, while their authorization and the necessary conditions for their organization should be within the competence of local people's councils. On the basis of the draft laws, permission shall be granted to five or more citizens to establish associations with nonmaterial purposes, by registering with the people's councils. The amendments to the Penal Code are mainly related to articles dealing with actions of antistate agitation and propaganda, activities directed against the state, crimes against the People's Republic, and others. The purpose of all these amendments is to guarantee conditions for further democratization of society, while legislation should more fully respond to the people's needs and to the international commitments our country has assumed. In this connection, the Council of Ministers intends to submit a number of additional draft laws to the National Assembly within the forthcoming year. [passage omitted]

The government adopted decisions on certain important questions related to youth, which were submitted for discussion by the Komsomol Central Committee. Decree No. 55 was adopted. It is aimed at establishing economic incentives for the youth organization in the purpose of guaranteeing the young people's direct participation in company-based organization.

Amendments are also proposed in connection with the instruction on credit activities of the State Saving Bank, which are aimed at improving the hitherto existing credits for the purchase of housing units and for other urgent needs; loans for housing construction are increased from 15,000 to 25,000 leva, while the period for repayment is prolonged from 30 to 40 years. Loans for other current needs are increased from 5,000 to 10,000 leva and credits for young specialists are granted. At the start of their work, they are entitled to a credit, due to be paid back only after 1-2 years. In signing a contract with a company, young specialists may obtain a credit, the repayment of which may be taken over by the company itself within the first 3-5 years, under given conditions negotiated in the contract. [passage omitted]

The State Saving Bank leases land to young newlyweds. Repayment of the total amount of a housing unit is for a period up to 30 years, and is based on cost accounting. If one spouse signs a 10-year contract, the respective organization with which the contract was signed is entitled to assume the payment of the installments for the construction or purchase of a housing unit, and such payments may be paid from its funds. [passage omitted]

The State Savings Bank grants credits amounting to 20,000 leva with a minimum interest percentage (2 percent), and within a period that may be prolonged up to 10 years, for the construction of agricultural buildings in villages and for agricultural activities to young newlyweds, and young people under 30. [passage omitted]

Instructions about the temporary restriction of accepting new citizens in towns and the distribution and sale of housing units are subject to amendments. This is to allow the people's councils executive committees to accept as new citizens young scientific workers who have won competitions in higher educational institutions and academies, but who do not have a scientific positions. [passage omitted]

Ecological Association Established in Plovdiv

AU0512141589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] Over 4,000 signatures of citizens from Plovdiv, Sofia, Stara Zagora, Stambolyiski town, and Smolyan were collected by aktivists from the newly established Youth Association for Ecology and Environmental Protection of the "Green Balkans" Wildlife Protection affiliated with Plovdiv University. In response to the Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo's decision to hand over the official, representative hunting grounds of the country to the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and to the Murgash Economic Association. The new ecological organization welcomes the measures adopted, and simultaneously proposes, in a declaration to the State Committee of Environmental Protection, to establish a special commission to evaluate the areas and existing wildlife species and to submit proposals on the establishment of national parks and protected areas.

Informal Democratic Association in Stara Zagora

AU0412190089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 p 2

[Text] In Stara Zagora, 14 people established a Union of Free Democrats. The informal association says that it has adopted a program for democratic changes in Bulgaria.

Varna Groups Celebrate Constitution Day

AU0412211989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] On the occasion of Constitution Day and Lawyers Day, the Varna Independent Movement for Legality and Democracy organized a meeting tonight.

About 500 members of informal groups from the city attended. An appeal to the National Assembly for amendments to the Constitution and to the Penal Code, for bringing legislation into harmony with international norms of human rights, and for more glasnost in the media was adopted.

Independent Club Leader Zhelev Interviewed

AU0512095389 Sofia BTA in English
0806 GMT 5 Dec 89

["Zhelyu Zhelev: 'The Aim of Restructuring Is Democratic Society'"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—"There is no such thing as a socialist social system and a socialist mode of production," says the philosopher Mr Zhelyu Zhelev in an interview for NARODNA ARMIYA. Saying that he is a Marxist adherent of historical materialism, the scholar attributes the "collapse of the October Revolution and of the so-called socialist revolutions in Eastern Europe Asia and Africa" to "the simple fact that there is still no mode of production which is more progressive than the capitalist one."

"We are a version of capitalism: overcentralised and with a totalitarian superstructure," says Mr Zhelev, who wrote "Fascism", a book which was banned when it came out. The interviewee explains that the book was originally entitled "The Totalitarian State" because he was "stunned by the striking resemblance between the fascist regime and the one in this country."

Mr Zhelyu Zhelev tells that his interest in totalitarianism arose naturally when he clashed with the social system over his critique of Lenin's definition of matter.

Now the scholar chairs the Operative Bureau of the Club for Support of Openness and Restructuring. He believes that the club should rather be called "for openness and democracy" as this name reflects more adequately the tasks it sets itself. Its aim is democracy.

Mr Zhelyu Zhelev believes that the concept of socialism is meaningful only insofar as it designates a policy of social justice. He rules out the possibility of socialism reforming itself and says that "the nomenklatura would very much like to replace the old delusions by new ones." In his view, the totalitarian system in this country should be dismantled and a democratic society built, with a multi-party system and different forms of ownership.

Dyulgerov Addresses Trade Union CC Plenum

AU0212160989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
27 Nov 89 p 2

[Introductory speech by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, at the fifth expanded plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions in Sofia on 25 November]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The hour of the Bulgarian Trade Unions has arrived; we must see what we are and what we must be in the future in order to become true trade unions. This reassessment will certainly have to be merciless, both toward ourselves and toward all the others who for years on end regarded the trade unions as lackeys of authority.

During the entire period from the end of the forties until now, the trade unions were allotted a role as transmitters and deprived of autonomy and independence. They formed an inseparable component of the command-administrative system. The paradox—and the drama of the trade unions lies in this—is that the trade unions were part of the structures of power but had no power themselves and were subordinated to those in power. In my view, here lies the source of all the trade unions' troubles.

Could it have been otherwise? Certainly not! This is because there is simply no place in a totalitarian state [totalitarnata durzhava] for true trade unions. This entire period provides a chain of proof that all attempts to achieve real syndicalism were stifled. [passage omitted]

However, we must be realists: The majority of the trade union members are alienated from their own organization. We should not be comforted by the fact that the people's trust in all the official organizations has been seriously shaken. It is more important for us to realize that confidence can be restored only through proof of real changes, not by justifications and promises.

Comrades, in our overall assessment of the previous period, the last 10 years deserve our special attention. [passage omitted]

The period that we will discuss in more detail can be divided into two parts. The first of these extended until 1986, when certain original ideas concerning democratic changes in society were torpedoed by the party. The orientation toward economic methods of government, the democratization of labor relations, the idea of self-management of the collectives, and the improved opportunities created for their social development expanded and humanized the sphere for trade union action. We used these opportunities, and a certain revival in the trade unions did take place. I think you will agree that the people's attitude toward the trade unions began to change at that time and our cadres acquired increased self-confidence. The standpoints that we defended, the critical assessments that we made, and the more realistic view of the collectives' problems all produced a positive effect.

However, we found ourselves between the frying pan and the fire: on the one hand, pressure and reproaches "from above" that attempts were being made by the people "down below" to raise their own voice and, on the other hand, discontent on the part of the workers because we were not doing what we were saying and what they themselves needed.

From 1986, especially after the adoption of the Labor Code and our firm attempts to apply it, an inexplicable pressure began to be exerted upon the trade unions. They became the subject of open attacks and extreme political appraisals. On the very next day after the Labor Code—the drafting of which totally involved the trade unions—came into force, a commission was set up without trade union participation to implement the code, especially with respect to those sections that granted rights to the

trade unions. The ultimate aim was to deprive the trade unions of their rights, to imprison them—following some "Japanese model"—in the economic scenarios, and making them do only what they were told. [passage omitted]

At the same time, certain leading party and state figures started to publicly reject the Labor Code and attack the trade unions, accusing them of hindering the economic leaders from doing their jobs.

This process went even further: The labor legislation was for all practical purposes nullified by a series of legal acts, and the trade unions were deprived of their own protective function. We entered a period largely consisting of confusion and blocking.

A situation was created in which the trade unions' proposals and demands met with contempt and disrespect. The Ministry of Planning and Economy even became our highest court of appeal, and certain company leaders declared that they would have no trade unions at their firms.

Without beating about the bush, I will say this: We kept to the postulates for the trade unions that were provided from the highest level within the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee. Our leadership tried to find some rationale in the prolific and quickly changing postulates, which swung the trade unions first in one direction, then in another. To be honest, we did not go to the limit and speak out at any price against the erroneous schemes imposed with no right of appeal on the trade unions It is true that we disputed many of them, including at party plenums, but this changed nothing, merely adding to the negative attitude toward the trade unions and, why not say it, toward me personally. [passage omitted]

I am saying this, comrades, in order to make it clear that a consistent line was being followed to drive the trade unions out of economic and social life. However, this does not relieve us of responsibility. The Central Council is the organ that now, with the participation of 150 labor collective representatives , can and must make an objective assessment of the leadership and its activity during this period and under these conditions, including an assessment of me as chairman.

Comrades, I will reiterate the introductory words of the document that has been distributed to you, where it is stated that the Bulgarian trade unions either will become an organization that truly defends the interests of working people or will be rejected as an unnecessary organization. We must give answers to the numerous and complex questions. The role of the present plenum is to conduct free, in-depth discussion in order to find correct answers to these questions. [passage omitted]

Concluding Speech at Plenum

AU0612151689 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 30 Nov 89 p 3

[Concluding speech by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, at the fifth expanded plenum of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council in Sofia on 25 November]

[Text] Comrades, I do not think that a concluding speech is necessary. We unanimously think that today's plenum has a special importance. Time will tell its place in our country's trade union movement. In essence, we begin a course toward founding new trade unions. As the resolution reads: Bulgarian Trade Union—Independence, Defense, Action. The fact that we succeeded within a relatively brief period of time to prepare and propose discussion for the Central Council on such serious documents and decisions shows that we have been working for a long time on those matters. They developed within ourselves; we aspired toward them. However, it became possible to deal with them only now, thanks to the November plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and to the major turning point in our social development.

A very essential issue was raised here, namely, that the new trade union course and orientation require new people at all levels. The trade unions need leaders and figures who come not from office nomenklatura, but those who have grown naturally and enjoy the trust of people from all of our country's working people—workers, agrarian workers, and the cultural-creative and scientific intelligentsia. Exceptionally important work is facing us in this respect. This applies to all—the Central Council, the Bureau, the Secretariat, and all other levels. We must know that the faster and more successfully we implement this renewal, the better a guarantee for successful restructuring we will create. One way or another, all of us, or at least many of us—and I do not exclude myself—are products of the system in which we live. However, the great job that is facing us, must be implemented by people who carry the spirit and requirements of our time. I pose this issue against the background of the forthcoming trade union accountability-election meetings. The trade union leaderships and organs must be formed in a new manner. Here we listened to people who were authorized by the collectives. I think that we understood very well their nonstandard and unconventional thinking and attitude.

This issue generally acquires exceptional importance from all points of view, and we must take this into consideration and purposefully change the situation. Otherwise this ambitious platform of renewal and change in forming the new type of trade unions will inevitably encounter difficulties.

We shall do everything possible to immediately reproduce and disseminate throughout our system the documents that we discussed here and that will be published in TRUD. The main factor for us now is to direct to the

collectives the entire potential of the Central Council, and the trade union federations and oblast, municipal, and basic organizations. I think that now we have a sufficiently powerful and understandable platform, on the basis of which we can open a direct dialogue or conversation with anyone. As you can see in the press, this is the course that our higher party leadership also assumed. This must be an open and honest dialogue on all problems that move the people and that are linked to the trade unions and the situation in our country. This dialogue must be realistically conducted. Everything that is taking place in our country evokes hope that a change will take place and optimism as well. However, there must be no illusions. Our actual situation will be revealed at the forthcoming BCP Central Committee plenum. It is a difficult and serious situation. It is absolutely clear that all issues cannot be resolved within a brief period of time. Hopes are hopes and optimism is optimism, and they must be strengthened; however, there must be no illusions. We are facing difficult days, weeks, and months, during which we shall try to effect a new beginning, which will allow us to proceed toward radical changes, first of all in our economic and social activity. No illusions and demagogy are necessary. We need a realistic approach based on the clear awareness of the unprecedented and complex problems that face our society. I think that with the decisions we adopted today, we shall be able to preserve the unity of the Bulgarian trade union movement.

A proposal was made to convene a national trade union conference. I think that we were right not to discuss this issue. In December there will be another Central Council plenum, and perhaps then we shall return to this issue. It deserves attention because the change that is taking place is fundamental. In addition, we will have a congress in about 2 years. Nevertheless, perhaps we will have to discuss the issue and decide to convene a national trade union conference after the accountability-election meetings, which we begin now. Let us propose this issue for discussion at our forthcoming plenum.

I have the feeling that we are a part of a historic process in the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Agrarian Party Council Opens Session

AU0212164789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] The Administrative Council of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] opened a session this morning in the Aleksandur Stamboliyski Memorial Building in Sofia. Let us hear what our correspondent Svoboda Nedeva reported to us over the telephone:

[Begin Nedeva recording] The Administrative Council session began about 2 hours ago and is being chaired by BZNS Permanent Board member Viktor Vulkov. Important organizational matters are being discussed and are the only item on the agenda.

BZNS Secretary Petur Tanchev was the first to speak. He stressed the historical mission of today's session, during the Supreme BZNS Council forum participants, as envoys of the 120,000 Allied Agrarians, are called upon to openly and frankly express their demands for radical changes in the organization and for its development as an independent, autonomous party.

Comrade Petur Tanchev surveyed the years of the totalitarian monocracy and administrative dictate, which took a heavy toll on the country's agrarian policy and led to stagnation in the BZNS activity.

Making an appeal for the unity and cohesion of all Allied Agrarians at this fateful juncture, Comrade Petur Tanchev offered his resignation from the post of BZNS secretary.

On behalf of the Permanent Board, he recommended Angel Dimitrov as candidate for secretary, until now secretary of the BZNS Permanent Board.

Comrade Petur Tanchev also expressed the Permanent Board's view that Pando Vanchev and Aleksi Ivanov, currently secretaries of the BZNS Permanent Board, and Radoy Popivanov, member of the BZNS Permanent Board, should be relieved of their posts for reasons of retirement.

The participants have now begun to discuss the proposals made, after which the election of new leadership members will be held.

It is likely that the discussion of these pressing issues will also be the subject of critical analysis and evaluation at the afternoon session of the Supreme BZNS Council, which will start at 1500. [end recording]

Tanchev, Others Resign

AU0212133889 Sofia BTA in English 1305 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—The secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), Petur Tanchev, announced his resignation at the session of the Administrative Council of the union, which opened today.

The secretaries of the eleven-member National Standing Committee of the Administrative Council of the BZNS Pando Vanchev and Aleksi Ivanov and Radoy Popivanov, member of the BZNS Standing Committee, also resigned.

Many of the speakers at today's session supported the nomination of Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the BZNS Standing Committee, for leader of the Agrarian Party, which rules the country in coalition with the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The Agrarians have three ministers in the present Cabinet: Georgi Menov, minister of agriculture and forestry; Mincho Peychev, minister of public health and social welfare; and Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice.

Speakers Make Demands

AU0212174989 Sofia BTA in English
1457 GMT 2 Dec 89

["Agrarians Want Changes"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—Demands to throw light upon the real history of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), to rehabilitate politically and legally all repressed Agrarians, appeals for lifting all restrictions imposed on the activity of the Agrarian Party for the purpose of turning it into an active and independent political factor in the restructuring characterized today's debates at the BZNS Administrative Council.

Facts were recalled of the 90-year-old history of the Agrarian Party which independently ruled Bulgaria from 1920 to 1923, forming a Cabinet headed by Aleksandur Stamboliyski, later overthrown and killed in a military-fascist coup. The speakers reminded of the struggle against fascism in which the beginnings were laid of close cooperation between Communists and Agrarians, thousands of whom perished in the anti-fascist uprising in Bulgaria in 1923, the first anti-fascist uprising in the world.

The main problem discussed today was what the relations between Agrarians and Communists should be under the conditions of dynamic restructuring in Bulgaria. Those who took the floor supported the idea of a united, consolidated and independent Bulgarian Agrarian Party, which will be not only an equal partner of the Bulgarian Communist Party, but also its opponent. Its role was also discussed along with the restoration of the Bulgarian village, the solution of economic problems, the construction of a democratic and humane socialist society. There was difference of opinions mainly in regard to the tactics and the organizational structure of the BZNS, about the change of which proposals were made.

The debates at the BZNS Administrative Council which are going on in the spirit of utmost openness, criticism and self-criticism are assessed here as an indicator of the sharp increase of the political activity of the 120,000 United Agrarians in Bulgaria.

Dimitrov Elected New Leader

AU0212170989 Sofia BTA in English
1606 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—Today Mr Angel Dimitrov was elected secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS).

At its today's session the Administrative Council of the BZNS complied with Mr Petur Tanchev's request to be relieved of his post of secretary of the Agrarian Party, expressing gratitude to him for his many-a-year activity at the BZNS. It was decided to propose to the National Assembly to relieve Mr Petur Tanchev of his post as first vice president of the State Council and to present Mr Angel Dimitrov's nomination for this office.

The resignations of the secretaries of the BZNS Standing Committee at the National Assembly, Alexi Ivanov and Pando Vanchev, and of the member of the BZNS Standing Committee, Radoy Popivanov, were also accepted.

Dimitrov's First Speech

AU0212201789 Sofia BTA in English
1858 GMT 2 Dec 89

["BZNS Shall Work for Democratic Revived Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—In an open-vote ballot, with an overwhelming majority (only one dissenting vote) today the Administrative Council of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) elected Mr Angel Dimitrov leader of the Agrarian Party.

Angel Dimitrov, the new secretary of the BZNS, was born on January 1, 1927, in the village of Mogilino, Razgrad Region (north-east Bulgaria). He comes of a poor peasant family. In 1947 he was elected secretary of the district governing body of the Young Agrarians' Union in Ruse. In 1962 he was elected member of the Administrative Council of the BZNS and in 1974 member of the BZNS Standing Committee.

With his consistent organizational and political activity Mr Angel Dimitrov has contributed to the active participation of the BZNS in the construction of the socialist society here, the further promotion and strengthening of the friendship between Bulgaria and the USSR and to the unity of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the BZNS, it is said in the biographical note made out by the BZNS Standing Committee. He has contributed to the development of the BZNS international activity and to uniting the forces of peasants and similar democratic parties and organizations in the struggle for peace and social progress in the world.

The Administrative Council accepted with an absolute majority the resignation of the former leader of the Agrarian Party, Mr Petur Tanchev, to whom gratitude was expressed for his 15-year-long work in holding this office.

A motion was adopted to propose to the National Assembly to relieve Mr Petur Tanchev of his post as first vice-president of the State Council of Bulgaria and nominate Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the BZNS, for this post.

We are ready to conduct equality-based real cooperation with Communists, non-party members and all honest Bulgarians in the name of a really renewed democratic Bulgaria, the new leader of the Agrarian Party pointed out in his speech addressed to the BZNS Administrative Council.

Mr Angel Dimitrov underlined that it is necessary to make a true uncompromising historical assessment of the activity of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and said that

the party "should lend a helping hand to the thousands of BZNS members who went into opposition (in the first years after September 9, 1944) and had to pass through prisons and camps," to all those who were forced "to take up the heavy cross of being countryless." We shall insist on the political and legal rehabilitation not only of Nikola Petkov and Dimitur Gichev (former leaders of the Agrarian Party), the speaker went on to say.

The secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party specified that now it is the most important task of the BZNS to turn into an authoritative political party with its own position and programme. He said that the BZNS should become an equal political partner not only of the Bulgarian Communist Party, but of all constructive reform-minded forces in society. The centre of the political pluralism should be formed by the two main people's parties—the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Dimitrov pointed out.

The Agrarians recognize the natural right of the stronger party to play the leading role, but it should do it through its majority at the National Assembly, on the basis of a broader consensus. According to Mr Angel Dimitrov all governing bodies should be headed by the best specialists, the most prestigious and talented leaders, irrespective of their party affiliation.

He moved that on December 22 at a Supreme Council the BZNS should discuss its new programme and statute and a programme for the development of the Bulgarian village and agriculture which will be later approved by the 36th Congress of the Agrarian Party. The motion was carried by an absolute majority.

Mr Dimitrov stated that the agrarian policy should be implemented only through the leverage of a balanced and skillful pricing, taxation and credit policy. There is nothing to worry about in the desire for building the economy on the basis of equality of all forms of ownership, including constitutional guarantees as to the life tenancy and succession of the land, the leader of the Agrarians stated. The BZNS is obliged to become the political guarantor of the cooperative movement.

The secretary of the BZNS expressed support for the revolutionary ideas of the restructuring in the USSR. He declared that the Bulgarian Agrarian Party will continue to carry out its international activity to the interest of the Bulgarian foreign policy of peace and understanding, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and all over the world.

Dimitrov Opposes BCP Role

AU0212214089 Sofia BTA in English 2000 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—Answering a question of journalists about the attitude of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) to Article 1 of the Bulgarian Constitution which guarantees the leading role of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the BZNS, stated that the Agrarians are opposed to this article. We are sure it will not remain in the new Constitution of Bulgaria.

The leader of the Agrarian party said that the BZNS will continue to carry out cooperation with the Communists, but it will not pass over in silence decisions and proposals the BZNS does not agree with.

We are for free elections, but at the right moment, he said, answering another question.

Petur Beron on Opposition's Political Goals

AU2611204789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Nov 89 pp 1,7

[Report on interview with Professor Petur Beron, one of the cofounders of the Bulgarian Ecoglasnost movement, by Ryszard Bilski in Sofia; date not given: "The Thing that Unites Us is Independence"]

[Text] Among the 10 or so independent groups acting in Bulgaria—it is difficult to give exact numbers, as new groups are being formed all the time—the best known is Ecoglasnost and its cofounder, Petur Beron, an environmental protectionist highly respected throughout the world. This is the second interview with him by RZECZPOSPOLITA. The first interview took place to the accompaniment of police batons and fists, at the end of October in the park next to Ruski Bulvar. For this interview, we arranged to meet on the Aleksandur Nevski Square in Sofia.

[Bilski] Ecoglasnost arose in order to protect the natural environment. However, society sees it as a political movement of wider implications. Do you agree with this opinion?

[Beron] No independent movement—and we are an independent movement—can remain apolitical. We will not solve our ecological problems without political reforms. We have to begin there. To sum up, we are not a political organization, but we cannot turn a blind eye to politics.

[Bilski] Independent organizations are full of initiatives and commitment, but they tend to lack concrete political programs...

[Beron] I agree with your view, because, among other things, we are not yet ready to put forward demands for free elections. This will take place within 1 year, and, at the latest, 2 years. We shall no doubt draw on the Polish experiences—experiences that are well known to me.

[Bilski] What are now the most pressing matters for the Bulgarian opposition?

[Beron] I would like to say that for the time being there is no real, classic type of opposition in Bulgaria. There are only groups and independent organizations that are

proposing an alternative approach to political, economic, and social life. An opposition will only arise when these organizations will succeed in defining their political platforms.

[Bilski] What do you expect that all the numerous meetings currently being held in Bulgaria will eventually achieve?

[Beron] Most important is the fact that society should rally around the slogan and idea of independence. This notion was derided for a long time in our country. Those citizens who dared raise the subject of independence were treated with derision.

[Bilski] When do you expect Ecoglasnost to be registered, and how do you see its further development?

[Beron] I expect it will take place in about a month. Regarding, further development, we have to rapidly form local based groups. We now have over 1,000 applicants.

[Bilski] Do you know how the investigation into the matter of the attack of the Ecoglasnost activists who were collecting signatures for the Ecoglasnost appeal is proceeding?

[Beron] The people concerned—that is, those who were beaten up—have lodged official complaints to the courts. I do not know if an investigation has begun, but I cannot imagine that there will not be one. The brutal action of the police has compromised Bulgaria in the eyes of the world. The delegates to the international Eco-forum were witnesses to the whole affair.

[Bilski] What should and what can the next few days bring for Bulgaria?

[Beron] If Mladenov, Lukanov, and the other progressive politicians who have the Army's support, show themselves to be consistent and strong enough to throw out from their circle the remaining political dinosaurs—here I am thinking of Kubadinski, Panev, Yotov—then the opportunity to return to normality will be that much more closer, and real. Tolerance and civic freedoms will be strengthened, and the conditions to create a multiparty system will be created.

Mladenov Meets Leaders of Mass Media

AU2911201289 Sofia BTA in English
1833 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—Today Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, and Mr Nacho Papazov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, had a meeting with publicists and leaders of the mass media.

Twenty-five people took the floor. Many truths were told about the recent past of Bulgarian journalism and its present situation. Ideas and views on the future development of the mass media were suggested. Support for the new political course of the Bulgarian Communist Party was expressed. Many of the speakers pointed out that the party, state and economic leaders should conduct a dialogue with the broad public through the mass media. It was stressed that the working out and the passing of a press law should be speeded up and that the problem of rationally making use of paper and determining the circulation of publications depending on the readers' interest should be discussed.

The conviction was felt in all speeches that the restructuring cannot be advanced without consolidation on a broad public basis.

Mr Petur Mladenov pointed out that the truth must come to light, no matter whether it is pleasant or not, because it is only on this basis that the policy of innovation can be formed. All the more that the necessary conditions for it exist—most of the people support the present course. He underlined that now the unity of all public forces which want restructuring within the framework of socialism and those who care for Bulgaria's own good has become more important than ever. Mr Mladenov stressed the paramount importance of the forthcoming plenum of the CC of the BCP, which will discuss a practical programme for the stabilization of the economy next year as a first step to an all-round solution of the problems of the country's future development.

Fundamental Changes in Economy Viewed

AU3011154189 Sofia BTA in English
1313 GMT 30 Nov 89

["For Sweeping Changes in Economy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—In connection with the "Roundtable" on "The Situation and Problems of the Bulgarian Economy" aired by the Bulgarian Television at which the Bulgarian economists participating in it voiced the opinion that the country needs a stabilization programme, in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO Mr Ivan Kostov, holder of a M.A. degree in economics, advances the thesis that it is necessary to immediately implement a radical reform of the economy.

In his article "No Postponement" Mr Kostov points out that the working out of a stabilization programme is dictated by the critical situation of the economy. In his opinion such a programme may temporarily ease the situation and bring about a partial improvement, but "it can lead to nothing else but economic reanimation of the command-administrative system that has suffered a fiasco". According to the author, the stabilization programme could be efficient, had only the present crisis been caused by the former government's oversight and mistakes, but in his opinion the causes are rooted in the very system of present-day socialism.

The author thinks that even the stabilization programme yields the best possible effect, it will not be able to satisfy the national political and economic requirements.

The article makes a detailed analysis of the "vices of the system": incapability to establish an efficient organization of labour, incapability to stop the avalanche of deficit and inflation, incapability to move on to a post-industrial stage, incapability to further sci-technical progress, incapability to get integrated in the world economy, incapability to produce high quality output.

In Ivan Kostov's opinion the postponement of the disintegration of command-administrative socialism in the name of a probably temporary improvement of the market situation will result, in a year or two, in losing the political credit granted by the people.

"We will never be in a situation that will make it possible for us to make up our mind and carry out a sweeping reforms without any pain or dramatism. Therefore we should take the plunge right away", it is said in the article. The stand is maintained that the nation's striving and values should be placed above any class or group interests and party platforms. The control over the national riches, the sovereignty over land and resources, the right of the coming generation to make their choice should be left to the people. One of the arguments adduced in favour of taking a "bold" decision for carrying out reforms is the danger of losing the economic sovereignty.

The author of the article dwells also on the difficulties which arise from the radical reform losing certain social guarantees, unemployment for those who cannot meet the new requirements, frequent need to retrain personnel, relinquishing the hitherto prevailing "equality", worsening of the standard of living for a few years.

Committee Checks State of Domestic Market

AU3011091889 Sofia BTA in English 2226 GMT 29 Nov 89

["On the Condition of the Market"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—Commodities offered for the home market this year must grow by about 12 per cent. Through competitions the government granted 150 million currency leva to companies and economic organizations in order to provide commodities for 1.5 billion leva at retail prices.

The Committee for State Control checked the reasons for the non-fulfillment of this task. The information shows that during the past ten months the home market has received, from local production and import, at retail prices, commodities for 1,451 million leva more, which exceeds the amount achieved during the same period of the previous year. The fulfillment of the task for production of goods for the commodity fund is also alarming—only 81 per cent. The companies which won the competition have produced goods for 509 million leva.

Some data can mislead that the market has been enlivened. For instance, the value volume of the food products that have been sold is 8 per cent bigger, compared to the value volume during the first ten months of the previous year, but 44 per cent of this growth is due not to the selling of essentials but it is due to products like brandy, wines, beer. Similar is the situation with other commodities (non-food), whose value volume growth is 14.8 per cent. About 33 per cent of them are due to the selling of tobacco products, perfumery and cosmetic products, fuel and lubricating materials, Moskvich cars.

Retail commodity circulation continues to be bigger than the volume of the commodities sent to the market, which shows that it is realised from the reserves.

Radio Requests Citizens' Plenum Proposals

AU2711201589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Dear listeners, we remind you that a special working group has been established for the forthcoming plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, scheduled to take place on 11 December 1989. The group is in charge of accepting and summing up the opinions, ideas, and proposals of our citizens.

With the aim of providing better conditions for the dialogue between party and people, Bulgarian radio proposes that you submit your proposals in writing, by telegram, or by telepone by dialing 88-58-02 and 66-59-16 from 1400 to 2200 Bulgarian time every day. You are invited to share your thoughts on the progress of restructuring in our country and to submit specific proposals in connection with the forthcoming plenum.

The Horizont program telephone numbers, which are well known to you—namely 66-50-10 and 88-34-30—will also continue to accept your calls every day from 0730 to 2000 Bulgarian time.

Intellectuals Want Past Record Corrected

AU2511210089 Sofia BTA in English 1441 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 25 (BTA)—Historiography has now the task to eliminate some falsifications, to reveal more objectively the past, says Prof Nikolay Genchev for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME. The restructuring of the Bulgarian historiography on Marxist-Leninist principles was understood rather dogmatically and that caused great harm. There was even extreme nihilism of entire epochs, great historical figures. These words Prof Genchev supports with examples about the complete rejection of the role of the bourgeoisie in the Bulgarian history and with the underlining of the role of the BRSDP (the party forerunner of the BCP) [Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party] as the only bearer of progressive ideas after its foundation in 1891. In this interview, as well as in his

previous publications, the scholar stands for deideologization of science and against its subjection to conjuncture considerations.

In NARODNA KULTURA poetess Blaga Dimitrova speaks of the silence and obedience imposed for a number of years on the writers, speaks about the time when "those who have remained truthful to the high mission of words had to look for Aesopian expressions in order to pass through the barbed wire of the censorship." In her opinion strong poems, satire, dramas and prose works have been created for the locker. The writer recalls the dramatic cases of cultural history. One of her examples is the expulsion from the BCP and the anathemizing years ago of Khristo Ganev, Valeri Petrov, Gocho Gochev and Marko Ganchev because they had not agreed to condemn Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

According to Kiril Kadiyski's words before the same newspaper the presence of active "Samizdat" despite the persecution before indicates that literary development is unthinkable without alternate publishing bodies. He views the "Samizdat" (there are several such literary magazines in Bulgaria) as a first step on the road toward the rebirth of the rich publishing traditions of the time of the independent development of Bulgarian literature. The writer expresses objections against the draft decree (published for discussion) for economic activity in the Bulgarian culture as non-democratic and calls it "one of the last attempts of the adepts of autocracy to hamper the development".

Pirinski Meets Workers in Blagoevgrad

AU2511205689 Sofia BTA in English 1347 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] [no dateline as received]—Mr Georgi Pirinski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met in the town of Blagoevgrad with the team of the Georgi Dimitrov Communication Equipment Plant. The present-day democratic changes for the fulfillment of the new political course of the party for real restructuring in all spheres of life: That was what the workers insisted on.

Mr Georgi Pirinski had a similar meeting with the Communists and members of the Fatherland Front from the Ninth Quarter of Blagoevgrad. After the meeting people left with the conviction that it is important to switch from words to actions.

Literary Figure Rejects Islamic Issue

AU2711073689

[Editorial Report] Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian No. 47, 23 November carries on page 5 a 400-word reader's letter by writer Khristo Radevski, entitled: "Yovkov Is Inappropriate", referring to a previous LITERATUREN FRONT article by Stoyan Ivanov, published in Issue No. 24, 1989 under the title: "Yovkov's Blue-Eyed Heroes," in which author Stoyanov is trying to prove that Yordan Yovkov, one of Bulgaria's classic fiction writers of the late 19th and early 20th Century, described Bulgarian Muslims as blond and blue-eyed implying that they were descendants of Bulgarians, and not of Turks.

Khristo Radevski points out that writer Yovkov was much too involved with general human and literary issues in order to pay attention to the "ethnic origins of his heroes," and further notes that it is not confirmed, whether "the question of the Bulgarians Islamization ever occupied his mind, which it probably did," but nevertheless, "he was concerned with describing people not as Bulgarians, or Turks, but as men with human destinies."

Further commenting on Ivanov's article, Radevski says:

"One of Ivanov's arguments is that Yovkov, in describing Turks with blue eyes is trying to convince us that they are Bulgarians. I have never been to Turkey, but I was told by people who live there that some of the Turks have blue eyes. Does this mean that they are Bulgarians?" Radevski closes his letter in stating:

"Ivanov's pariotic intention to involve Yovkov and use his fascinating effect upon the readers for an important and highly topical issue that occupies us today are understandable. Nevertheless, it is inappopriate. The narrow frame into which he tries to squeeze the writer's great personality is unfit for him."

Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-24 Nov

AU0712082589

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1600 GMT on 17 November through 1600 GMT on 24 November report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Petur Mladenov, Georgi Atanasov, and Andrey Lukanov held a meeting in Sofia on 18 December with the leadership of the Bulgarian People's Army, led by Army General Dobri Dzhurov. (Sofia BTA in English 1714 GMT 18 Nov 89)

Petur Mladenov, with Nacho Papazov and Ivan Stanev also present, met in Sofia on 21 November with the aktiv of the Sofia City organization of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP). (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Nov 89) In Sofia on 22 November he met with leaders of the diplomatic corps, with Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov also present. (Sofia BTA in English 1827 GMT 22 Nov 89)

Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, met with workers of Sofia's Sredets Plant on 20 November. (Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 20 Nov 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met with factory workers in Sofia on 22 November. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Nov 89 pp 1, 2)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, met with workers of the Crane Building Plant in Sofia on 21 November. (Sofia BTA in English 0057 GMT 22 Nov 89)

Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, addressed a Komsomol Central Committee plenum in Sofia on 21 November. (Sofia BTA in English 0807 GMT 22 Nov 89)

Pantaley Pachov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, met with college lecturers and students in Plovdiv on 21 November. (Sofia BTA in English 0057 GMT 22 Nov 89) In Plovdiv on 23 November, he visited the Maritsa Typewriter Plant and discussed the plant's problems with workers and management. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 89)

Nacho Papazov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia on 23 November the participants in a conference on the problems of developing economic awareness in socialist society. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 23 Nov 89)

Yordan Yotov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, departed for Bucharest on 19 November to attend the Romanian Communist Party Congress. (Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 19 Nov 89) In Bucharest on 22 November, he was received by Nicolae Ceausescu. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Nov 89 p 5)

Mincho Yovchev, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, held a meeting in Sofia on 21 November with workers of the 6 September Enterprise (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 21 Nov 89) and workers of a lift truck plant. (Sofia BTA in English 0057 GMT 22 Nov 89) In Dimitrovgrad on 23 November, he took part in a plenum of the municipal party organization, at which Angel Shishkov was replaced by Georgi Todorov as first secretary of the Dimitrovgrad Municipal BCP Committee. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, held a meeting in Pleven on 23 November with local party, economic, and cultural figures, and answered questions. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 89)

Ivan Stanev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, met with people in Kremikovtsi Municipality on 21 November. (Sofia BTA in English 0057 GMT 21 Nov 89)

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, had a meeting with the workers of a plant in Mikhaylovgrad on 23 November. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Nov 89)

Prodan Stoyanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a CPC Central Committee working group in Sofia on 20 November. (Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 20 Nov 89)

Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, received UK diplomatic official Sir Patrick Wright in Sofia on 23 November. (Sofia BTA in English 2340 GMT 23 Nov 89)

Federal Premier Adamec Resigns Post 7 Dec

LD0712154689 Prague Television Service in Czech 1537 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Here is one very topical piece of news: A meeting of representatives of political parties and social organizations associated with the National Front of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was held today to discuss a proposal for the composition of a new federal government and a draft constitution. In the course of the meeting, Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec said that he had decided to resign from his post. At present discussion is in progress about filling the vacancy.

Adamec Addresses Nation, Discusses Situation

LD0612200389 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Speech to the nation by Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec broadcast on Czechoslovak Television on 6 December—recorded, in Czech]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens: I am addressing you again after a week's interval. I have been led to do so by the seriousness of the situation and by concern over its further development.

At this moment, any personal feelings are not at all at issue. At my age of 63, I perhaps do not have to refute suspicion that I am afraid to lose my job. I am also reckoning with the fact that some people may interpret my frankness as an attempt to defend myself against public criticism.

First of all, I would like to say something about the composition of the government. I do not regard it as an optimal one that would suit everyone. I myself declared at the first meeting of the government that it could be improved as needed. When preparing the new composition of the government, I asked the representatives of all sections of our public to submit proposals. From some I received them, from others I did not. I took all viewpoints into account. It is true that not everyone was satisfied, but this is something that we have dealt with, after all.

We are all in favor of talks for achieving accord and understanding; they are the only course to overcoming social tension. Is it, however, possible to find a common solution by delivering ultimatums and impose them through the use of threats? If democracy is synonymous with debate, I myself cannot act under the pressure of one group of persons and not take into account others.

My actions are guided by the principle that a discussion can be conducted about everything, but that an agreement can only be reached on the basis of a compromise solution. I am trying to honorably fulfill the conclusions adopted jointly. To yield to every demand would not, however, calm the situation down. On the contrary, it would aggravate it further. I cannot accede to such a course of action.

Raising the tension is threatening to seriously damage our economy, the functioning of state administration, our international position, and above all the certainties of the daily life of the people. This is not a threat but a mere statement of reality. I have to say this because many do not as yet realize this. It is alien to me to suspect people of bad intentions. I rather try to understand everyone. I know that a certain section of our society did not, until recently, have enough opportunities to voice and push through their views. We are lacking many democratic mechanisms to do this. I am an advocate of a state based on the rule of law. I know that a number of existing laws and regulations are bad or are obsolete. After all the experiences of the past, I cannot, however, permit anyone to unlawfully assume power and take over state power without justification. I am concerned lest we devalue the right ideas at the very outset. This is why I am in favor of quickly holding democratic elections and of adopting new laws concerning assembly, association, the press, and other civic rights. These questions must be discussed quickly but seriously and thoroughly.

I am against unnecessary delays and a cumbersome approach; I stand for maximum possible flexibility. However, I cannot agree with talks under rushed conditions, continually under the pressure of hasty ultimatums, strikes, and demonstrations. Why do I speak about this in such detail? First and foremost because I promised to avert economic debacle. And I want to fulfill this promise. However, I must say publicly that I do not have the necessary conditions for this. Is there perhaps anyone who thinks that we shall attain a better quality management by continuous changes in the government? One day we are talking about the departure of two people, a week later we are talking about changing half of the government, and soon, perhaps, about changing the entire government. This is, of course, possible. But I am addressing those who submit these kind of proposals, as to whether by doing this, they wish to attain stability or the destruction of the national economy? Do they wish to attain democracy within the framework of legal code, or anarchy? How can a minister or an enterprise director meet his duties when he lives in continuous uncertainty? And this, too, is one of the main reasons why a whole number of capable and qualified people are refusing to accept the government posts offered to them. Can anyone be surprised at this? I fear that the continuous upgrading of requirements for further changes will make the situation even worse. Some can see in this strategy the guarantee of not returning to old conditions. However, to their own detriment they are putting in jeopardy the attained progress. The policy of all or nothing cannot always bring success.

I fully understand the patriotic enthusiasm of these days. I welcome the fact that people are no longer afraid of expressing their own views, that they are not afraid to ask any kind of question. The citizens are making use of the right to have doubts, to criticize, to recommend and propose things. I very much like the announced principles of dialogue, because they correctly put forward the

tolerance of views and the respect for the other person's view. The present arguments about truth are guided not only by reason, but also by the heart. And this, too, has to be considered. But nobody who is responsible for the Republic, or who feels this responsibility, should play with excitement, agitation, and emotions.

In recent days, almost nothing has been discussed except for the composition of the government. I give my full backing to the demands to give priority to high expertise and professional ability. But contrary to this, a mere composition based on political considerations and percentages and calculations is being argued. I do not reject the argument that the composition of the government should also correspond to the present distribution of political forces. However, the moods and affections of people are changing day by day, hour by hour. And to agree to this condition then means to accede to a lasting government crisis. Tell me, in which country of the world has this situation among people been beneficial? Allow me to ask a question in this connection: would it not, at the present time, be more beneficial for society to rise above the narrow party viewpoint?

I think that the majority of citizens are not so much interested in what Party membership card a person holds, but rather if he is really the right person for the job. If I have on my table a proposal for a better, more prepared and better qualified citizen who is not a Party member, or who is a member of another political party, then I will prefer him over a member of my own party.

The intention of having a government which is professionally qualified is for me neither a pure slogan in vogue nor a concession. I have always seen in it the basis of an effective scientific management. In the past, this principle was being proclaimed but was, in practice, often broken. That was one of the reasons why we got into such a difficult situation.

It is true that the former policy of a cadre quota made the selection of the best out of the best more difficult. Many talented people neither received the education nor got the opportunities they deserved. However, despite this, our Republic has enough people who deserve by their abilities, knowledge, character, and ethnic standards to be in state posts. That is why I do not fight—on the contrary, I welcome—a selection out of the biggest possible number of people. Nevertheless, the premier of the government must also, by necessity, have the flexibility of decisionmaking.

Esteemed fellow citizens, in 3 weeks time, our economy will enter a new phase. We are convinced that we are following the right path. It will be a fundamentally new situation, with a lot of foreseen, as well as so far unknown, risks.

We intended to devote all our forces during December to fully prepare for this important change. I must say that these intentions of ours are in danger. The fact that the government is under strong pressure due to lack of confidence does not contribute towards the quality of decisionmaking, nor to speeding up the necessary changes.

To avert this unfavourable state, I have engaged yesterday and today in talks with political parties and representatives of the Civic Forum and "Obroda" club. Tomorrow I will put forward appropriate suggestions to be assessed by the presidium of the Central Committee of the National Committee of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. I do not know if I will successfully achieve the necessary agreement on the issue of the changes in the government.

The Federal Government has shown in the course of the last year, not through words but through actions, that it is not a body of opponents but, on the contrary, supporters of restructuring. We brought about the increase of restructuring, and we have implemented the new system in agriculture and in other fields ahead of schedule.

We have also secured the necessary international conditions for restructuring. A recent meeting of Warsaw Pact representatives in Moscow, as well as our talks with the Soviet supreme representatives reveal a significant support for our effort to lead our society out of crisis.

On the basis of a Federal Government proposal to reassess the entry of the armies in August 1968, this chapter of history was politically closed.

The consistent orientation of Czechoslovakia along political and economic reforms is bringing us together.

I have verified again that Comrade Gorbachev understands our problems and our national interests. This understanding secures the stability of our economy, which depends on the supplies of raw materials and energy from the Soviet Union. The international position of the Republic also depends on this.

Esteemed fellow citizens, this is what we need to make 1 January 1990 a truly dignified entry for Czechoslovakia into the 1990's: A working economy and state administration, observance of laws, regular rhythm of work both at enterprises and schools, in addition to the trust of our public in the sincerity of our intentions and the time to fully consider these intentions before implementing them.

Unless the government meets these principal conditions, I cannot assume the responsibility for further development of the situation. In such a case, I have only one honest way out: to ask the president of the Republic to relieve me of the post of the premier of the Federal Government.

This is a grave decision for me, both politically and personally. Above all because I have long been pushing for the need for a deep social restructuring. That was why my views and the views of some members of the former leadership of the CPCZ parted. With all gravity, I warned against the threat of disruption, against the

threat to socialist values, national interests, and the future of the coming generation.

However, I cannot take any other path in the given situation. I would never forgive myself. Nor do I want to disappoint honest people who I hold in esteem.

Nevertheless, I feel sorry about one thing—that in the case of my departure from the Federal Government, I will not be able to fulfill my promise to help lead our society out of crisis.

Allow me to thank, from the heart, all those who have helped me and trusted me.

Stepan Denies Responsibility for 17 Nov Events

LD0712143189 Prague CTK in English
1338 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 7 (CTK)—"I reject direct political responsibility for the events in Prague on November 17 and for political consequences of the interference," former Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and leading secretary of the Prague Party City Committee Miroslav Stepan said in his personal statement sent to CTK today.

Stepan sent his statement to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, Communist Party Central Committee, Czechoslovak premier and Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee yesterday.

He rejected the accusation of the press of committing an act unworthy of a deputy and said he has been acknowledging the demand for respecting and restoring public order always and everywhere, for respecting the laws and this country's constitution. "I dissociate myself from the police interference and do not agree with it," Miroslav Stepan said.

"Pressure, as well as other unlawful and anticonstitutional steps can result in general chaos, threat to human lives and property and finally to a national catastrophe. I believe in political culture of this country's people which will be reflected in a policy free of hysteria, ultimatums, misuse of feelings and justified dissatisfaction of people calling for remedy and certainty for the future," Stepan said in his personal standpoint.

Government Issues Communique 30 Nov

AU0712085889 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 1 Dec 89 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Session"]

[Text] Prague— The CSSR Government held its plenary meeting in Prague on Thursday [30 November]. It discussed the draft state plan of economic and social development of the CSSR for 1990. The plan has been drawn up so as to ensure the fulfillment of necessary prerequisites for the full implementation of the new economic mechanism as of 1 January 1990. In the binding targets of the state plan, emphasis is placed on normative rules [normativy]. To an inevitable and substantially reduced extent, the plan contains limits on consumption, designated tasks, and state orders. The state plan specifies the rules for regulating the development of the economy for 1990, as well as principles for the implementation of consolidation programs.

In 1990, the CSSR economy should develop at a similar pace as is expected for this year. The draft provides for an increase of 2.5 percent in the national income, which will reach the amount of about Kcs700 billion. Regarding the use of national income, a more rapid increase is planned in nonproductive consumption, particularly in the social consumption of the people. The draft plan aims at the stabilization of the achieved standard of living and an improvement of its quality in designated branches. The orientation of the plan supports the restoration and the strengthening of a balance, and the effectiveness of the introduction of economic instruments. Supplies of consumer goods to the home market will be increased, and the demands on imports for the production sphere will be maintained on such a level that our foreign debt in nonsocialist countries does not increase. The draft plan provides for an improved balance of foreign trade relations with socialist countries. Like in the preceding years, the plan does not secure the targets of the Eighth 5-Year Plan to the full extent. On the other hand, the growth of private consumption exceeds the original targets of the 5-year plan.

The government gave detailed and critical consideration to all aspects of the submitted draft, and stressed the significance of the social thrust of the plan's fulfillment. It imposed on its members the obligation to consistently secure the tasks and, at the same time, to approach with initiative the solution to all existing problems concerning a change of principle in the performance of the Czechoslovak economy.

Along with the draft state plan for national economic development, the government discussed and approved a plan for technical development and standardization for 1990. In compiling this plan, the priority of structural changes as expressed in the state programs of development was respected. The plan comprises 159 projects to be tackled in 1990; two-thirds of them are also to be completed in that year. It is foreseen that the solution of 51 projects will continue in the Ninth 5-Year Plan. In compiling this plan, a greater emphasis than in previous years was placed on economic efficiency.

Furthermore, the Federal Government discussed the draft law on the state budget of the federation, which also has its point of departure in the need to ensure a transition toward the new economic mechanism. Emphasis is put on the application of economic methods of management, the principles of economic accountability and self-financing, as well as on a restriction of redistribution processes. Uniform conditions and generally valid rules apply to the financial management of state enterprises, to the conditions and rules which

increase their independence and support entrepreneurship and the dependence on generated resources to meet needs. As far as the budget system is concerned, the self-sufficiency of the state budgets of the republics is being significantly enhanced and allocations to these from the state budget of the federation are being curtailed. The social orientation of the budget expenditures is being reinforced, with emphasis on covering the essential needs of social security, health care, education, and the construction and repair of housing. A new feature is the presentation of the overall volume of military expenditures in line with the UN methodology, whereby the long-term previous practice of planning military expenditures in various chapters of the budget is being abandoned.

The budget is based on the premise that, in view of the different starting positions of enterprises, the government will be authorized in 1990 to temporarily make use of its right to adjust the enterprises' obligatory payments to facilitate the transition of the economically accountable sphere to the new economic mechanism.

Owing to considerable strain between budget revenues and expenditures, at this stage one has not succeeded in creating sufficient reserve resources in the budget for the implementation of basic structural changes in the national economy. A way out must lie in the effort and motivation [of enterprises] aimed at an increase in the generation of financial resources and in their rational use in the enterprise and budget spheres.

The government charged the CSSR premier with submitting the government-sponsored draft law on the state budget of the federation for 1990 to the Federal Assembly for further constitutional procedure.

The CSSR Government discussed and approved the monetary plan for 1990. Compared with 1989, credits and loans given to the enterprise sphere and the public are to increase by 1.25 percent, on average. At the same time the government approved the banking monetary policy and the principles of management of the Czechoslovak State Bank that are to be applied from 1990. Because the banks will be organized in a new way from the beginning of next year, the chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank will carry out, with effect from 1 January 1990, a delimitation [delimitace] of credits, credit resources, and other assets and liabilities from today's Czechoslovak State Bank to credit institutes, that is, to Commercial Bank Prague, General Bank Bratislava, and Investment Bank Prague.

The government took note of the fact that, from 1 January 1990, the rate of exchange of the Czechoslovak koruna against the transferable ruble will be revalued by 5 percent, that is, from Kcs10 to Kcs9.50, and its rate of exchange against the currencies of nonsocialist countries will be devalued by 2 percent. This rate of exchange will also be applied when selling koruna resources to foreigners from hard currency countries over and above the minimum obligatory level of exchange. The government laid down the task of negotiating with the USSR, the GDR, the Polish People's Republic, and the Hungarian Republic the limits of means of payment to be made available for the purpose of tourism with these countries in 1990.

At its Thursday session, the government also dealt with the course of the construction of the Mochovce and Temelin nuclear power stations. It considered the current state of construction and laid down tasks for securing construction in 1990. When discussing preparations for the construction of further nuclear power stations, it stressed the importance of reducing the investment requirements of these projects as well as of increasing nuclear safety.

The CSSR Government charged the minister of interior with the task of immediately starting work on removing the technical installations at the state border with the Republic of Austria, while paying heed to the needs of state defense.

CPSL Central Committee 'Active Measures'

AU0212163289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Nov 89 p 1

["Active Measures to Resolve the Current Situation" adopted at the extraordinary session of the CPSL Central Committee on 27 November]

[Text] The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee session, which was held on 26 and 27 November 1989, discussed the current political situation in Czechoslovakia. All the participants in this session fully realize that the party and the whole of our society are standing at a historic crossroads, that is, before a solution to crucially important tasks.

The wave of emotions, as well as hatred, that has swelled up against the Communist Party is an accompanying element of the profound political crisis. The CPSL Central Committee has discussed the current situation in society and has pointed out the causes that led to the present situation. It has subjected to criticism the mistakes that brought about a weakening of the party's ties with the working people, the insufficient satisfaction of their interests and needs, and the unwillingness to always tell people the absolute truth and to seek with them correct methods for solving problems.

Disrespect for many of the fundamental principles of political leadership and ideological practices have led to a loss of the trust which the party had among the masses, thanks to its years of stalwart and heroic struggle against capital, for national liberation, in the contest for political power before Victorious February, and for the construction of socialism.

Communists in Slovakia are aware in all earnestness that the renewal of the party's real and informal authority will be difficult and unusually demanding. It requires that we thoroughly overcome all the deformations of

socialism and the remnants of administrative-command management, that we associate ourselves with everything positive from the past, and that we struggle for the revolutionary renewal of socialism. We have no other choice but to renew party ranks if we want to be convincing about our great responsibility for our nations' fate and for socialism in our homeland.

Our understanding of the essence of socialism as a modern, highly efficient, democratic, and humane society also must change during this complicated period.

The party must intensify its influence on social events—and implement it by exclusively political means. Our task is to convince and win over the working people, as well as those belonging to our nations and nationalities and to struggle to satisfy their justified interests and needs. Our highest mission is to serve the people. We will endeavor to gain the confidence of the whole of society by our clear active program and by its thorough fulfillment.

We realize that the path to this is via a democratic dialogue, a dialogue without prejudice, a dialogue with everyone to whom the fate of socialist Czechoslovakia lies close to the heart, a dialogue with all those who respect each other and who are responsibly striving for generally forward-looking aims, for an optimum resolution to the current situation, and for our country's further advancement.

The most topical task for the future is to transfer this dialogue onto a coalition platform of the National Front and state organs and to give it a specific direction with the aim of reducing tension in society and of establishing scope for resolving urgent tasks. This involves all the elements of the political system. All the structures have already expressed their points of view and it is high time for us conduct further dialogue in a matter-of-fact manner and with specific responsibility.

We require Communists to undertake concrete steps in this spirit.

Our program for dialogue proceeds from the extraordinary CPCZ Central Committee and CPSL Central Committee sessions.

1. Not declaring the party's leading role constitutionally or otherwise but to implement it in the effort for the people's, our nations, and nationalities' interests.

2. In the interest of constructing a state governed according to the rule of law it is necessary to assert the people's recently formulated demands in the prepared drafts of the new CSSR, Czech Socialist Republic, and Slovak Socialist Republic Constitutions. It is necessary to accelerate preparations for the law on elections and for the elections themselves.

3. It is necessary to evaluate the CPCZ's history under socialism, first and foremost, the causes of the social and political crises, especially, 1968 as an attempt at social reform and the renewal of socialism. We consider this to be one of the most vital prerequisites for renewing the people's confidence in the implementation of social restructuring. The following tasks face us:

1. To intensify dialogue about our socialist future with the political parties and social organizations affiliated in the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front and to begin dialogue with civic initiatives.
2. To hold talks with former leading officials in party and state organs as well as with communists who left the party ranks in 1970 and who want to participate in the renewal of socialist society.
3. To mobilize Communists at all levels to resolve the students' justified demands.
4. To help create scope for a plurality of views and to guarantee the timely nature and truthfulness of information through the medium of Communists in the mass information media. To work against the propagation of antisocial and anti-humane views, views that are at variance with the Constitution and with socialist legality.
5. To mobilize party organs and organizations as well as all party members so that they fulfill their economic tasks without disruption, so that economic and social subversion is prevented, subversion which would render the socialist renewal of society impossible. In the interest of this, it is necessary to cooperate with all political forces.
6. To use the party's political influence so that the appropriate organs are effective in protecting the health, lives, and property of all citizens without discrimination. It is necessary to concentrate on the struggle with crime, corruption, and other manifestations of social malaise.
7. To bring to the forefront of party work at all levels young, creative, professional, and politically well-prepared cadres, cadres who are capable of conducting an effective dialogue with civic initiatives, with all population groups, and with the organizations which represent them.
8. To speedily prepare, and after discussion at the next CPSL Central Committee session, to submit to the CPCZ Central Committee the CPSL Central Committee Platform for the Party's Revolutionary Renewal and for the Deliverance of Society From Crisis.
9. To prepare the party to gain political influence in general and secret elections.

It is necessary to prepare a functionaries' aktiv at the CPSL Central Committee, CPSL Regional Committee, and CPSL District Committee level and to provide the primary organizations with specific assistance for the immediate fulfillment of the active measures.

Central Slovak Regional CPSL Leaders Resign

LD0312221489 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Central Slovak Regional Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Committee met in Banska Bystrica today to discuss the internal political situation in the Central Slovak Region,

the course of action to be followed by Communists up to the extraordinary Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Congress, and cadre questions.

It noted that by its insensitive analysis of the state of society and the views of the lower party bodies, and by the lack of awareness it showed in assessing developments in our immediately neighboring countries, the party has lost its trust and the ability to implement economic and political reforms.

At the session it was also announced that the existing members of the presidium and secretariat of the Regional CPSL Committee had resigned their posts.

Until the extraordinary conference, the regional party organization will be led by a new presidium headed by Jan Selecky, who was elected by secret ballot.

Spak Reelected East Slovak CPSL Leader

LD0412093389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] At its extraordinary session in Kosice yesterday, the East Slovak Regional Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Committee discussed the situation in the region and cadre issues.

After an extensive discussion, it accepted the resignation of the entire Presidium and Secretariat. In a secret ballot, it then elected a new Presidium, which will operate until the regional party conference. Michal Spak was reelected chief secretary of the East Slovak Regional CPSL Committee.

Slovak Communist Party Presidium Holds Sessions

Convened 1 Dec

AU0612133689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Session of the Central Committee Presidium of the Communist Party of Slovakia"]

[Text] Bratislava—During its deliberations on 1 December 1989, the Central Committee Presidium of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] discussed the current political situation in Slovakia. The Presidium fully identifies itself with the appeal voiced by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, on the need to restore honor to the party and to renew ability of action of Communists and party organizations. The Presidium appreciates the fact that many CPSL factory organizations have already done this at their annual members' meetings and elected party committees which enjoy both authority and influence among the majority of working collectives and in the entire membership base. The main current task is to preserve ability of action of party bodies and organizations and to conduct an open dialogue with all social forces, both in the working people's interests and also in the interests of reviving socialism. Everybody who has the better life of our people at heart is our ally.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium then dealt with the political-organizational provisions for extraordinary district, city district, and regional CPSL conferences, as well as for the CPSL's Bratislava City conference, in connection with the effort to convene the extraordinary CPSL Congress at an earlier date.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium decided to set up a CPSL Press Center, which will start operating on 4 December 1989.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium also decided to charge Peter Sitanyi, deputy chief editor of the PRAVDA daily, with the management of this daily up to the extraordinary CPSL Congress. (It decided this in keeping with the resolution adopted at the extraordinary members' meeting of the CPSL factory organization in the PRAVDA editorial office, held on 27 November 1989—PRAVDA editor's note.)

Press Center Opens

LD0512032189 Prague CTK in English 2008 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 4 (CTK)—A press centre of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee opened here today to give information to journalists until an extraordinary session of the Slovak Communist Party takes place so that rumours and ungrounded statements are not spread among people.

Press spokesman of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Rudolf Cizmarik spoke at the first press conference about the course and outcome of today's session of the Slovak Communist Party Presidium. The Presidium dealt mainly with the preparations for the forthcoming session of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee on December 6 when the whole Presidium and Secretariat of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee as well as the Central Control and Audit Commission of the party are to resign. These central bodies are unlikely to be elected by December 17, the date when the Slovak Communist Party extraordinary congress is due to take place, and will be substituted by an action committee whose objective will be to prepare the extraordinary congress.

The Presidium also discussed cadre issues of the party apparatus and preparations for structural changes. At the same time it created a commission to deal with the reassessment of the document "Lesson Drawn From the Crisis Development", particularly with the issues concerning Slovakia.

Meets 4 Dec

AU0712103389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The CPSL Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee Presidium discussed the topical political situation in the party and in society at its session yesterday. It considers speedily implementing the renewal of party organs to be vital in coming to terms with this situation. It is necessary to create prerequisites so that the preparations for the extraordinary CPSL congress are entrusted to communists from the ranks of workers, farmers, and working intelligentsia, people who have the confidence of the membership base and who are capable of flexibly reacting to the reality that arises from the party's new status and tasks in society. The CPSL Central Committee Presidium expressed its support for all Communists who in past years did not lose their faith in the party or in their conscience. Proceeding from the draft CPCZ Action Program, it stands by all those who, out of conviction that they were serving the interests of socialism, the party, and society, honorably implemented party policy under complicated conditions. Therefore, it rejects attempts to discredit and disgrace them.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium approved a commission to discuss and review "Lessons From the Crisis in the Party and Society Following the 13th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress," particularly those parts that concern the Communist Party of Slovakia. The commission will be composed of Samuel Cambel, Samuel Faltan, Andrej Gabal, Peter Weiss, and other members who are yet to be appointed.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium also discussed the draft CPCZ Action Program and proposed that its contents be finalized in relation to Slovakia.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium convened a CPSL Central Committee session for 6 December 1989. In this connection, it discussed a proposal for the resignation of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat and for the establishment of an action committee to prepare the extraordinary CPSL congress which should take place on 17 December 1989.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium also further discussed internal party issues and stated that the presence of party organizations at workplaces is not at variance with the abrogation of Article 4 of the Constitution since the party organizations respect the principles that their activity is restricted to issues concerning internal party life and that it takes place outside working time. At the same time, it recommended that an amendment to the payment of members' contributions be discussed in the near future.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium appointed Comrade Rudolf Cizmarik as the CPSL's press representative.

Slovak Press Secretary Issues Statement

LD0512204189 Prague CTK in English 1921 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 5 (CTK)—Intensive consultations with political parties and other structures involved are taking place with the aim to reconstruct the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic and contribute with the changes to a more decisive assertion of political and economic reforms. Press Secretary of the Slovak Government Vojtech Krestanka said here today.

Emphasis is laid on the government's ability to lead the process of social restructuring and ensure parallelly challenging tasks till the holding of free and democratic elections which should take place as soon as possible. Slovak Premier Pavel Hrivnak leads consultations on the principles of democracy, pluralism and specialization so that the new government be accepted by the Czechoslovak public positively. The Slovak Government will be reconstructed within this week, Vojtech Krestanka said.

Slovak Communist Party CC Opens Special Session

LD0612192289 Prague CTK in English 1710 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 6 (CTK)—The Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party went into a special session here today to deal with an urgent convening of a special party congress.

Secretariat, Presidium Resign

LD0612225289 Prague CTK in English 2209 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 6 (CTK)—The Presidium and Secretariat of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and the chairman of the party Central Control and Audit Commission resigned today at a special session of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Ignac Janak was relieved of the post of Slovak Communist Party first secretary.

In an adopted resolution, the session decided to hold a special congress of the Slovak Communist Party on December 17 and to create a Slovak Communist Party Action Committee headed by Pavol Bolvansky, former party Presidium and Secretariat member and secretary, which will prepare a program platform of the party aimed at leading it out of the crisis.

Addressing the session, Ignac Janak said that the main problem of the Slovak Communist Party rests in the fact that central bodies do not have confidence of party members nor of society as they did not succeed in reacting in time and in an adequate way to the development in society.

"The tragedy is that we did not draw a lesson from history of our party and underestimated warnings and

criticism of communists, people without political affiliation and youth. This concerns also the stand on the events of 1968-1969, on the document "a few sentences" and others. The resolutions of the 9th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party on restructuring the party work have not been implemented. The centralist mechanism influenced our work in the past as well as actions during these crisis days, which is justifiably criticized," Ignac Janak said.

Bolvansky Heads Action Committee

LD0612233389 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee held an extraordinary session in Bratislava today. Zoltan Liptak, an editor, is on the line from the Central Committee headquarters:

[Liptak] Esteemed listeners: I am reporting from the busy headquarters of the CPSL Central Committee, where the plenary session is currently coming to an end. According to many participants with whom I have spoken, this stormy but regrettably belated dialogue about the current situation and alternatives facing the party and its current share in the future development of our society has produced results already. Which ones is the question I asked my interlocutor, Comrade Rudolf Cizmarik, press spokesman for the CPSL Cental Committee.

[Begin recording] [Cizmarik] At the meeting of the CPSL Central Committee, which is just ending, Comrade Ignac Janak delivered a report on speeding up the extraordinary CPSL Congress. He said in his report that the Communist Party is not at the head of this current process of renewal and that its unity has been weakened markedly. The abolition of Article 4 of the Constitution [party's leading role] is not the only cause of this.

He said that the central party organs do not enjoy the confidence of many members and a large section of our society. The blame for this lies particularly with the former leadership of the Communist Party. It lacked unity, openess and scope for seeking solutions.

In his speech Comrade Janak also pointed out some self-critical mistakes. He stated that during the year and a ½ when he headed the Central Committee he did not fulfill everything he promised when taking up the post. This is why he proposed to the Central Committee the resignation of the Presidium and Secretariat in its present composition. The Central Committee accepted this resignation and proposed to set up an action committee which will function up to the extraordinary party congress.

The action committee was elected in elections and is formed partially from the current party Central Committee membership and partially from new people from primary organizations, simply from the whole party.

[Liptak] This action committee will direct the party in Slovakia up to the extraordinary congress.

[Kizmarik] Yes, the action committee will be at the head of the Central Committee up to the extraordinary congress which will take place on 17 December here in Bratislava. Comrade Pavol Bolvansky has been entrusted with heading this action committee. I wish to point out that apart from him there is no one from the CPSL Central Committee apparatus in this action committee.

[Liptak] So these are the preliminary results we have acquired.

[Cizmarik] I would like to add two things. The resolution adopted instructed the carrying out of fundamental measures to enhance the party's ability to take action, renew party ranks and in particular party bodies. It said that the Presidium and the Secretariat has acted irresolutely until now in the struggle for the democratization of our society and that a great deal has been let slip. [end recording]

[Liptak] Such are the results of today's meeting of the CPSL Central Committee. Today, thousands of honest rank and file Communists are apparently asking themselves the question: Could it not have been—if we do not count years—at least 2 weeks earlier? Today's resolutions therefore indicate that the new Communist Party leadership in Slovakia has leaned on primary organizations and is endeavoring once again to set out on the course of self-renewal and the renewal of socialism.

Slovak National Council Meets Opposition

LD0612001789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Slovak National Council Representatives today met in the Slovak National Council building 10 representatives of the civic initiative Public Against Violence and of the All-Slovak Coordination Committee of Students of Higher Institutes of Learning.

Editor Ladislav Balko asked to interview Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council, and Jan Budaj, representatives of the civic initiative Public Against Violence:

[Begin recording] [Balko] The 2-and-1/2-hour meeting was really interesting. What did the Slovak National Council chairman get from it?

[Schuster] At this meeting we were given many very specific proposals for our further work. We are preparing an extraordinary session of the Slovak National Council for tomorrow where we want to deal with cadre issues, above all the Presidium's new composition, because we do not want the old Presidium to endorse the new reconstructed government.

We told each other that we should not wait with many initiative proposls that we can already put forward to the Federal Assembly, that we should have more initiative here in Slovakia than before. We want to involve more

experts and the general public regardless of party membership. We agreed on many things and we have even been given specific proposals of help to tackle these problems.

We said that deputies of all levels do not fulfill their duties. What should be done in cases where deputies fail to fulfill their duties? Naturally where the situation is bad we do not want to wait until elections. Citizens in constituencies have to reassess these deputies, and where they fail to meet their criteria they will have to resign on a recommendation from their electors.

[Balko] What did 1 of the 10 representatives of the movement Public against Violence, Jan Budaj, get from the discussion?

[Budaj] We mainly have learned about the Slovak National Council's plans, that is, its plans for change, but also about some of their hesitation. The Slovak National Council Presidium realizes that the deputies of the Slovak National Council and the rest of the representative bodies do not reflect the current social and political reality and actually they did not reflect it in the past. The most important and pleasant discovery for me was that the Slovak National Council plans to intervene in Slovak policy and that it intends to take steps which will not always be an echo of a Federal Government decision, and that it will be in a certain sense a real Slovak policy.

[Balko] You have said [words indistinct] in this discussion: We, the Public Against Violence, are proposing a path of national reconciliation. The issue of preparing for earlier elections was also put forward. In your opinion, will reconciliation take place?

[Budaj] The issue of immediate changes in representation, for example, the number of ministers and so on, cannot be the final solution to our political situation because we are still only in a preparatory period prior to a democratic election. The question put forward everywhere, as a condition of national reconciliation, is today a sort of political guarantee on the part of the government and on the part of other authorities, a guarantee that the development which has so far been peaceful will not change into chaos, into a struggle with old forces. This requires, as we learn from the public, from what people phone us and what people chant at demonstrations; a different parity of representation of social forces in the government is necessary. It seems that should this situation really reflect the real interest of the people, communists should not have a majority in the new government, and it does not mean that they should have it in cooperation with representatives of the parties of National Front of which many have only a formal existence.

[Balko] Comrade Chairman Schuster, what should be done from the viewpoint of the Slovak National Council because the Slovak National Council, as a parliament of the Slovak Socialist Republic, also has its say in the formation of the new government?

[Schuster] I presume that tomorrow we will elect a new Presidium which will evaluate the proposals for changes in the government. This is one primary task. Then, we return to the reassessment of some deputies, to by-elections, which we have already mentioned, where necessary. We should not wait because as we have already said there is no time and actions are needed in all areas. [end recording]

Slovak National Council Holds Session

Communist Deputies Resign

LD0612154589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] At the session of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava today the following Czechoslovak Communist Party deputies gave up their mandates:

Julius Hanus, Viliam Salgovic, Jan Gregor, Ernest Bielik, Petronela Visnovcova, Karol Savel, and Branislav Biros.

The Slovak National Council endorsed the bill on abolition of the legal provision of Slovak National Council Presidium no. 18/1989 [word indistinct] about misdemeanors against measures to reinforce public order.

On the basis of talks with representatives of the civic initiative Public Against Violence, the Slovak National Council added members of this civic initiative to the commission of deputies overlooking investigation of the intervention of national security bodies against the assembly of believers in Bratislava in March.

Elects Presidium

LD0612163589 Prague CTK in English 1540 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Bratislava Dec 6 (CTK)—The Slovak National Council recalled at its session here today its deputy chairmen, chairmen of its committees and other members of its Presidium from their functions. The new council's Presidium was elected in a secret ballot later on.

It contains 24 deputies, nine of them members of the Communist Party, four members of the Slovak Reconstruction Party, four members of the Slovak Freedom Party and seven without political affiliation.

Chairman of the Slovak National Council Rudolf Schuster stressed in his speech that the realized constitutional changes have raised a justified need for a new set-up of the Slovak National Council Presidium. Formerly twenty of the twenty-two members of the Presidium were communists and the remaining two were members of other Slovak political parties.

Referring to future activities of the Slovak National Council its chairman said it will deal with preparation for the bills on assembly, association, press and petition, and the bill on general elections to legislative bodies.

Session Reported

LD0612213189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The Slovak National Council met in Bratislava today for its 18th session. The main item on its agenda was the election of its Presidium. Jan Smihula and Ladislav Balko have compiled the following report.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] This was already the second meeting in the past 6 days of the highest Slovak representative body. This testifies to the dynamism, but above all the importance, of the current period.

The plenary session was preceded by a meeting of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council, which discussed cadre changes in the Presidium and the committees of the Slovak National Council. This was immediately followed by meetings of Clubs of Deputies of all three political parties and Slovak National Council deputies without political affiliation, at which they took a stand on the cadre changes proposed.

[Second unidentified reporter] Rudolf Schuster, its chairman, then opened and presided over the proceedings of the 18th session of the Slovak National Council, in the presence of Pavol Hrivnak, Slovak prime minister. In his opening speech, he stressd that the extraordinary situation demands that the Slovak National Council, from the viewpoint of its mission, be in the center of these events, and that it direct all its activities forward the realization of the demands of the time.

Since the current internal political situation requires rapid changes in the composition of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council, and in view of the fact that in the immediate period ahead, it faces the task of appointing new members of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government, the Slovak National Council recalled its deputy chairmen, chairmen of individual committees, and other members of the presidium of the Slovak National Council. In a secret ballot, it elected a new Presidium.

[First unidentified reporter] The new deputy chairmen of the Slovak National Council are: Kazimir Nagy, a Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] member, jozef Sirotnak, a Freedom Party member, Jan Majer, a Slovak Revival Party member, and Jana Blazejova, without political affiliation.

They then elected 19 deputies—seven CPCZ members, three members representing the Slovak Revival Party, three representing the Freedom Party, and six members composed of deputies without political affiliation—as the other members of the Presidium.

Afterwards, the Slovak National Council cancelled its resolution of October this year in which it had voiced its agreement with the proposal submitted by a group of Federal Assembly deputies to pass a constitutional law on the method by which the new Constitution was to have been adopted.

The next item on the agenda of the meeting was a proposal by a group of Slovak National Council deputies to pass a Slovak National Council law revoking the legislative measure adopted by the Presidium of the Slovak National Council this year on offenses running counter to measures aimed at reinforcing public order. The deputies passed the proposed law.

[Second unidentified reporter] On the basis of talks between the chairman of the Slovak National Council and representatives of the civic initiative Public Against Violence, the Slovak National Council augmented by two members—Dr Frantisek Mikloska and Dr Jan Cernogursky—the commission of deputies set up to scrutize the investigation of the action taken by the National Security Corps against the assembly of believers in March last year.

[First unidentified reporter] At the end of the meeting, Deputy Julius Hanus resigned his parliamentary mandate and called on other deputies to make the same decision. Viliam Salgovic, Jan Gregor, Ernest Bielik, Petronela Visnovcova, Karol Savel, and Branislav Biros then also resigned their parliamentary mandates. [end recording]

New Presidium Meets

LD0712132789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The newly appointed Presidium of the Slovak National Council has met for its first session, chaired by Rudolf Schuster, its chairman.

Slovak Premier Pavel Hrivnak reported on the preparation of the draft of changes in the composition of the government.

The Presidium then promulgated resolutions on the abolition of the legal provision on misdemeanors regarding measures to reinforce public order and on the abolition of the resolution of the Slovak National Council of 1 October, which had voiced its consent with the proposal of a group of deputies of the Federal Assembly to issue a constitutional law on the way in which the new Constitution of Czechoslovakia, of Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics is to be adopted.

Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council also met with representatives of the Central Council of Csemadok. They discussed topical national issues.

Civic Forum Meets Soviet Embassy Officials

LD0712134589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Representatives of the Civic Forum Coordination Center met with representatives of the Soviet Embassy in Prague today. They explained to them the aims and activity of Civic Forum in the present period and their view of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations. The embassy representatives listened to the views expressed and voiced their willingness to participate in further meetings.

Further on Civic Forum-Czech Government Talks

AU0612143889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Dec 89 p 8

[CTK report: "Talks Between Representatives of the Czech Government and Representatives of the Civic Forum"]

[Text] Prague—On Friday [1 December] at 1400 GMT, representatives of the Czech Government—Frantisek Pitra, its premier, Miroslav Toman, first deputy premier, and Professor Josef Mecl, chairman of the Legal and Constitutional Committee of the Czech National Council—held an agreed joint meeting with representatives of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center: Vaclav Havel, a writer; Petr Pithart, a political scientist; Ivan Rajmont, a film director; and Martin Klima, a student at Charles University Faculty of Mathematics and Physics.

V. Havel briefly explained the Civic Forum's mission and its Coordinating Center's specific features. He stated that the Civic Forum's aim is to contribute to peaceful preparations for free elections. The Civic Forum thinks that a strike alert is one of the guarantees for this.

The delegation commented that, after Tuesday's [28 November] talks with CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec a certain distrust arose in society, a distrust caused by the closed nature of the proceedings. The abrogation of the article in the Constitution on the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's leading role significantly contributed to calming the atmosphere in the country. The Coordinating Center delegation later expressed its ideas—just as it did during its talks with Ladislav Adamec—on what kind of tasks the government should outline in its policy statement. These involve a speedy amendment to the right to assembly and association, a solution to the problems of the People's Militia and party organizations at workplaces and, first and foremost, the guaranteeing of complete freedom of expression. Finally, the delegation emphasized how necessary it is that the principles of the new government's policy statement be transformed as quickly as possible into concrete deeds.

The delegation conveyed the view of the Coordinating Center that the most suitable form of change in the government, in light of serious reservations concerning the management of some important departments, would be its resignation.

F. Pitra pointed out to the Coordinating Center's delegation that the Czechoslovak Government can deal with these issues only within the sphere of its activity. He briefed the delegation on some of the topical issues which the government has discussed in recent days. It has submitted to the Czech National Council a government draft law on establishing an independent ministry of the living environment, which will be provided with all the necessary authority. Proposals for a change to the university law are also being prepared as the case may be, and proposals for a new university law are being prepared. While preparing this law, the government is counting on the broad participation of pedagogues and students. After agreement has been reached with the Czech National Council, the law on the nonperiodical press, the so-called publishing law, will be redrafted. The government has reviewed the situation and will propose necessary legal amendments to the civil liberties sector within its competence.

On issues involving the further development of the cultural sphere, the premier emphasized that we must open ourselves up to world culture and attach ourselves to rich humanistic and democratic traditions. The government is considering setting up a cultural council of all representatives from the cultural sphere. It is resolved to eliminate everything that puts up political, legislative, and administrative barriers to the complete fulfillment of the individual's development in a socialist society.

The premier of the Czech Socialist Republic Government also gave a briefing on talks to date on restructuring the government with the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee Presidium, the political parties, and other organizations. He explained that the government's effort is aimed at creating a government of competent individuals with high moral qualities, who enjoy the trust of the general public. This involves establishing a government of responsible representatives to consistently develop social changes on the basis of the Constitution, while respecting international documents and conventions to which the CSSR has agreed.

The delegation from the Civic Forum Coordination Center made note of this information.

The premier stated that all the points of view conveyed to him, as well as the proposals arising from the talks will be a subject of discussion with the political parties and organizations affiliated in the National Front.

During the course of the talks, the issue of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center's compliance under civil law as a prerequisite for its use of premises, establishing a bank account, and so on was resolved. The government representatives stated that nothing prevents the registration of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center in Prague as a voluntary social organization in accordance with law No. 68 of 1951.

The participants in the talks agreed to call upon all citizens to proceed responsibly in a spirit of humanity and social morality while on the road to full democracy,

and thus eliminate all undesirable elements such as chicanery and public invective. Such elements could damage the republic's good name.

In conclusion, both sides characterized the 5-hour talks as difficult, however, they were conducted with good will in a conciliatory and responsible manner.

Civic Forum Demands Recall of Prosecutors General

LD0612150189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The Civic Forum Coordination Center and the Public Against Violence organization emphazised in their statement their efforts to find a way out of the whole crisis. They recall their continuing intensive talks with Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec about the composition of the new government. They consider the immediate recall of Jan Pjescak, Czechoslovak prosecutor general, and Jaroslav Krupauer, Czech SR prosecutor general, from their posts as especially important. These are people who are fully compromised, in particular by the fact that they created from the procuracy a repressive institution which is ignoring elementary ethical and legal principles. They stressed that if space for the necessary change in the sphere of procuracy is to be created, the newly appointed prosecutor generals must not be members of any political party.

News Conference on Civic Forum-Urbanek Talks

LD0612191889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] A news conference on the results of talks between Civic Forum, Public Against Violence, and Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, and Ladislav Adamec, federal premier, took place today in the new Civic Forum Center in the Prague Aurora Club.

Vladimir Pavrovsky, editor, reports on the news conference:

[Begin Pavrovsky recording] Vaclav Havel, Milan Knazko, and Jiri Dienstbier took part in the news conference. First of all, Vaclav Havel spoke about the talks with Karel Urbanek. He assured both the delegations of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence that all People's Militia arms are already in Army depots. According to Karel Urbanek, the People's Militia should in the future, be used as part of the Army to assist with natural disasters and so on. The State Security Corps, too, it is said, is losing its purpose for safeguarding internal needs.

Karel Urbanek also briefed the press on his meeting with regional and district party secretaries. He told them that the Communist Party does not wish to pursue power politics, but some people did not want to understand him.

Ladislav Adamec told the delegation that as early as tomorrow at 1400 [1300 GMT] he will have talks with the Presidium of the Central Committee of National Front about the changes in the composition of the Federal Government. He promised to acquaint the representatives of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence with these changes in a priority briefing. This means that this will happen before they are published.

I also think that the report of Jiri Dienstbier, who spoke about the statement of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence, which demands the resignation of the CSSR Prosecutor General Jan Piescak and Jaroslav Krupauer, Czech Socialist Republic prosecutor general, is also important. This is in connection with their contribution to recent illegal practices, or the measures that do not correspond to the Constitution.

There was also a report on setting up Civic Forum in the Army. Its members are demanding, among other things, reduction of the compulsory military service from 24 to 18 months. [end recording]

Public Against Violence Holds News Conference

LD0612220189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Another regular news conference by the civic initiative Public Against Violence was held in Bratislava today. It was attended by editor Ladislav Lukac.

[Lukac] Journalists were informed, first of all, about the standpoint of the coordination committee of Public Against Violence on the proceedings of the 18th session of the Slovak National Council. They regard the changes in the Presidium of the Slovak National Council as the first attempt to establish in this body such representation as would reflect the true political and social situation more truthfully. The changes in the structure of the Presidium in favor of a greater representation of non-Communist deputies merely reflect the possibilities that flow from the present inappropriate composition of the Slovak National Council's deputies. In the viewpoint of the urgent social needs, they regard these changes as acceptable only if they are linked with an immediate announcement of elections to the Slovak National Council, making use of the shortest technically feasable dates, even at the price of changing the Slovak National Council's law on the election of Slovak National Council deputies.

They then told the press that the publication of a book of 30 CTK photos of the recent days was being prepared, with profits from its sale to go to the account of Public Against Violence. A number of journalists' questions were aimed at finding out whether Public Against Violence will be a political party. The answer to these questions was given by Peter Zajac, a member of the coordinating committee of the civic initiative Public Against Violence:

[Begin Zajac recording] Public Against Violence does not have the ambition of becoming a political party in the classical sense of this word. It wants to be a civic

movement; it wants to shape civic consciousness and concientiousness. Its principles are expertise, trust, and cooperation—cooperation with various groups having various interests. However, this does not mean that it wants to exclude itself from political life. What often prevails in our country is the traditional notion that politics are shaped only by political parties. The political expression of Public Against Violence only means that as a civic movement, as a social movement, we want to express our political views and aims.

I would like to add only that the situation is new in that regard, that we are going over the horizon of those classical political parties, and that the civic movement, in effect is entering political and social life as a social and civic movement. [end recording]

Czech Civic Forum Demands End to Censorship

LD0612211989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] In Prague today, the delegates of Civic Forum groups from 29 publishing enterprises voiced their demand to abolish the Department of Literature Standards of the Czech Ministry of Culture, and the evaluation and censorship functions of the Federal Press and Information Bureau.

They also demand a speedy discussion of a new law on publishing in the Czech National Council and recommend renewing the work of the Union of the Publishing Enterprises and Book Shops, which was forcibly dismanded in 1970.

Socialist Reconstruction Club Issues Manifesto

Blames Husak, Jakes

LD3011215989 Prague CTK in English 1728 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 30 (CTK)—"Husak's and later Jakes's leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party bears full responsibility for the burying of the 'Prague Spring' reforms and for the uncivilized, truly reactionary kind of rule in the past 20 years", said a manifesto of the Club for Socialist Reconstruction—"Revival" issued here today.

The club associates former members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party who left it or were stripped of the membership for their activities in 1968-69.

"From the point of view of history this leadership bears indelible blame for abandoning the humanistic content of socialism", the manifesto said, adding that it has isolated the whole regime and the party itself from the public and caused the deepest crisis in the country's modern history.

"We believe that the wave of stimuli and suggestions, characteristic of the 1968 revival as well, will help us find a way out of the crisis...our club wants to contribute to the refinement of ideas and finding a joint platform for all forces prepared to restore the state and revive society. This is the sense of its existence". The manifesto said.

The document further characterizes the concept of the social system suggested by the Club for Socialist Reconstruction. Its main characteristics are inter alia state independence of the two national republics, democratic self-administration, civil equality and justice, a complex of social certainties for all, guarantees of a law-observing state with laws reflecting internationally recognized human rights, openness of the state and society towards great values of world progress and peaceful international cooperation with all nations.

The manifesto includes a list of the main tasks which must be solved in the interest of a quick solution of the political crisis. Especially strengthening the democratic movement in the whole country within the Civic forum in whose framework the "Revival" club is active, influencing members of the Communist Party to stimulate an internal change of their party on the basis of a complete removal of all phenomena of Stalinism and adopting a modern concept of socialism.

More Details of Manifesto

LD0112181989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The Club for Socialist Restructuring—Revival—announces that its Secretariat is based at the Fontana Club in the Julius Fucik Park of Culture and Recreation in Prague. Telephone contacts with the Revival Club for Socialist Restructuring are on Prague numbers 38 22 29 and 37 73 58.

The manifesto of the Revival Club for Socialist Restructuring recaps the development in the CSSR in the past 2 decades and stresses that the club wants to contribute to the clarification of ideas and to finding a common platform for all forces ready to renew the state and to improve society's health.

In the near future it wants to concentrate efforts on a speedy solution of the political crisis. It sees the main steps as strengthening the organization of the democratic movement in the entire country on the soil of the Civic Forum, influencing Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] members to incite a deep internal change in the party, regulating the market economy, and loosening of the system of the National Front as an instrument of CPCZ monopolist power.

As further steps toward a speedily solution to the political crisis, the manifesto of the Club for Socialist Restructuring—Revival—envisages respect for Civic Forum as a base for cooperation and dialogue, the appointment of new federal and republican governments as a government of national unity, maximum effort by Civic Forum to work out a platform and a program which would attract the support of broad strata of the society, the legalization of all up to now unregistered

civic associations, parties, activities and clubs, and perhaps even the setting up of new social organizations, the acceleration of the adoption of the bill on mass media in which the new situation in the CSSR must be reflected by truthful and tasteful reporting, freedom of expression and responsible current affairs journalism, critical openness and complete information.

For a swift solution to the political crisis, according to the manifesto of the Revival Club for Socialist Restructuring, it is also very important to make it possible for authors of scientific studies, literature and other works which have not been allowed to be published in the past 20 years for their works to be included in publishing programs and to reach the book market, to ensure the rights of CSSR citzens to travel freely, to stay abroad and to return to their homeland when they want.

For the solution of serious questions of democratic restructuring it is necessary to start work immediately on a truthful explanation of developments since 1945 and above all in 1968 and the years which followed, on working out principles of democratic, political and state system and its functioning, on the completion of work on a consistent economic reform and its implementation on a deep reform and the modernization of the education system, scientific research and cultural development, on the amendment of relations between the state and churches on the base of their separation and modus vivendi, on the new concept of our international relations based on perfecting and putting on equal basis the cooperation in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

In this way, the Revival Club for Socialist Restructuring, according to its manifesto, envisages the beginning and the continuation of the true deep restructuring which will be a transition from the old to the new.

Gives News Conference

LD0112182389 Prague CTK in English
1454 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—"We shall help to establish a unified socialist and democratic movement, a left wing bloc, in Czechoslovakia", Cestmir Cisar, the former secretary and Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and now a member of the Club for Socialist Reconstruction "Revival", said at a press conference here today.

The club "Revival" was founded early this year as a political socialist organization associating its former members and communist Party functionaries which had to leave the party after 1968.

"We want to contribute to make Communists understand that they must get involved in the broad democratic current arising here. That they cannot keep the privileges they have had up to now", Cestmir Cisar continued, adding that everything indicates that the club "Revival" which is the initiator of the Civic Forum and a part of it, will change into a political party. So far, the "Revival" has several thousand members, among them also young people.

"Revival" 's members are for example former Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek, former rector of the School of Economics Vladimir Kadlec, former prominent functionaries of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and also specialists—historians, philosophers, economists, sociologists and journalists, including Josefa Slanska, the widow of the late Communist Party General Secretary Rudolf Slansky, executed on December 3, 1952.

Former General Vojtech Mencl told journalists that Premier Ladislav Adamec is able to form a government which will be better than the present one, however, it depends on what analysis of the economic situation he will submit. No member of the "Revival" has been invited to become a government member yet.

National Agricultural Cooperatives Congress Opens

Urbanek, Adamec Attend

LD0112163889 Prague CTK in English
1231 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—The 11th National Congress of Czechoslovak unified agricultural cooperatives opened here today, with 2,000 delegates taking part.

Unified agricultural cooperatives were founded in 1949 under a law which created the basic prerequisites for a gradual transition of small-scale production to highly mechanized large-scale production. At present there are 1,700 agricultural cooperatives with one million members in Czechoslovakia, farming about two-thirds of all land in the country and providing about a similar share of agricultural production. The remaining land is farmed by state farms and the share of private farmers is negligible.

The two-day congress is expected to assess the state of Czechoslovak agriculture and lay down a line of pursuing effective intensification, to elect central and republic bodies of the Union of Cooperative Farmers, and to approve new rules of the union.

The principle has been set for elections of delegates to the congress that there will be one representative per each agricultural cooperative and two representatives for cooperatives farming an area of over 4,000 hectates of land. Delegations from 35 countries, as well as represetnatives of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organizations and CEMA, have been invited to the congress.

Taking part in the opening meeting were National Front Deputy Chairman and Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek and Premier Ladislav Adamec.

Minister Algayer Addresses Congress

LD0112174789 Prague CTK in English 1439 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—"Restoring and strengthening the balance of Czechoslovakia's economy requires an acceleration of restructuring", Czechoslovak Minister of Agriculture and Food Jaromir Algayer said here today.

Addressing the 11th Congress of Unified Agricultural Cooperatives, which started here today, Minister Algayer underlined the big material and technological potential of Czechoslovak agriculture. Livestock production increased three times in the past forty years and crop production nearly doubled. Labour productivity is six times as high as it was 40 years ago. Before 1948 one worker in agriculture produced food for 5.5 people compared with 18 people at present.

Minister Algayer said that positive trends prevail in the fulfilment of the resolutions of the 10th Congress of Unified Agricultural Cooperatives and conditions are being created for reaching the targets set by the 8th five-year plan (1986-90). Cross agricultural production grew in 1986-89 by 8.4 percent as against the average in 1981-85. With crop production increasing by seven per cent and livestock production by 9.5 percent. Annual per capita meat consumption has risen by nearly eight kilos since 1984, and consumption of milk and dairy products increased by 10 litres. Czechoslovakia is 98 percent self-sufficient in agricultural produce.

Pointing out the number of problems in the agriculture and food complex. The minister said that although the plan of grain production is being fulfilled, the situation was serious as regards feeds. The rate of growth of livestock production, called forth by higher demands on the market, exceeded sources of feeds. There is an unfavourable situation in sugar beet growing as areas under sugar beet were reduced by more than 20 percent since 1984 and overall production dropped by more than 25 percent. Nor are the results in potato growing satisfactory. The area under potatoes has decreased by eight percent since 1986, with a simultaneous five percent decline in production. Fruit and vegetable growing continues to lag behind the requirements of the market, the minister said.

He said the food producers were the weakest link in the agriculture and food complex, with outdated machinery and the negative consequences of centralization. The farmers must realize that after the single EC market opens it will be necessary to prepare to confront Czechoslovak products with products of those countries, especially as regards the quality of the nutrition value and price.

The minister voiced dissatisfaction with the level of multilateral contacts within Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Urbanek Speaks at Congress

LD0112221989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Speech by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, at the 11th National Congress of the United Farming cooperatives in Prague on 1 December—recorded]

[Text] Dear friends, dear comrades, we Communists are currently waging a political struggle by political means, but we want this struggle to be fair and clean. [applause] Allow me to brief you on the current situation as the Presidium of the Party Central Committee assesses it; I will be brief. The party and society are in profound crisis. We admit that this has come about largely because of the serious mistakes of the former leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ), which have shown themselves most markedly in the last few days. So far there has not been much time for any detailed analysis, but the truth remains that it is primarily lack of consistency, half-measures, unwillingness to implement fundamental changes, as well as the inability to see things realistically, to respect views from below, to admit the truth, and to see things as they really are—all this has led the party and society into a profound crisis.

One of the reasons why the party, and above all its leadership, fell into complacency was, in our view, that the party did not, in effect, have any opposition, that it created conditions of political isolation, and in the end it even gave up the need to wage a permanent political struggle for its authority and for the right to manage this country, by virtue of the fact that it contented itself with establishing its leading role in society in the Constitution.

Through its lethargy, and administrative and bureaucratic approaches, which even permeated the state administration and which was reflected in the intervention in public demonstrations on 17 November, the party lost the trust of many of the people, above all young people, and it was primarily young people who were the first to stand up to this kind of thinking, and the first to find the courage to resist and demand social change. [applause]

And it can be said that as of now they have won the implementation of most of their demands. I am not going to hark back to the last few tempestuous days; rather we should now talk about where we go from here.

The Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee adopted early this morning a draft of the action program with which the public will be acquainted. This document sets up the party's tasks in the near future, but at the same time expresses our conception of its role in the framework of the envisaged social changes. I will not quote them here, because you would shout me down for speaking too long.

The action program states these principles: First—We dissociate ourselves from the policy of the former CPCZ leadership. [applause]

[Second]—We will objectively assess all aspects of internal and external affairs in past years, including the events of 1968-1969 and all the issues linked to the entry of the armies of the five states onto the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. [applause]

Third—Through this program we are adopting all the progressive traditions of the CPCZ in the course of its historical development and proposing further courses of action. At the same time, we are aware that the CPCZ enters fundamentally new political conditions. A number of our officials will have to realize that not all our citizens hold the same views as they do; that the fact that somebody does not agree with me or does not share my world outlook, including believers, does not mean in itself that he is my enemy. [applause] I do think that who does not go against us, will go with us. On the other hand, we should continue to follow good relations of cooperation between the parties and organizations of the national front and the leadership.

It is a pity that this still does not apply in cities. Neighbors in villages simply live side by side and mostly have to find a way to agree with each other. Therefore, it is namely a village which can become for us, on this issue, a school of political tolerance, and national committees in villages can teach us how to lead a dialogue and look for common solutions. [applause]

Comrades, esteemed friends, when talking about mistakes, about crisis development, allow me to express the conviction on this territory that, as to Czechoslovak agriculture, it goes beyond the framework of the critical picture of the current situation. It is not that we, farmers, do not make mistakes—I said this to the comrades in Liberec, when I went to a conference there, and then I got a complaint somewhere from Bohemia, saying that I criticize agriculture.

Modern approaches have been practiced in agriculture, factual applications of the most advanced methods of science and technology; many agricultural enterprises have become pioneers in the struggle for economic independence, enterprise and competition. Farmers, perhaps, were the first to realize the value of capable, talented, highly educated employees, professionally, highly morally, but also materially interested in the results of their work and the work of the entire collective. [applause] It was the farmers who managed to preserve cooperative democracy, and one must say, not just for their own benefit, but also that of our entire society; not only economically, but also politically. Many thanks go to you for this, as well as deep respect.

In this connection, I should like to praise the fact that farmers, as distinct from others, do not lose memory. The slogan about land belonging to those who actually work on it was the basis of the so-called Hradec program of the CPCZ in 1947. [applause] In my opinion, and according to the results of our agriculture, the relationship of farmers toward the land in the past 40 years has truly been that of cooperative land actually belonging to them.

Comrades, esteemed friends, all this could not but be reflected in our agricultural achievements, and, in the long run, also in supplies to the Czechoslovakia Socialist Republic of foodstuffs and other agricultural produce. Expert analyses demonstrate that, as to its overall standard, it belongs to the frontranking states of the world. The volume of agricultural production increased more than twofold from the year 1948; market production rose four times. As to yields per hectare, we belong to the most advanced countries in comparable conditions. [applause]

Anyone who is not biased and is able to see real facts must also acknowledge the enormous changes in rural areas. The rural population today is part of a group which has, in general, a high standard of living, a very good level of household facilities, and in most bases a well-functioning infrastructure and social provision, too.

However, there are also areas and regions—and I say this frankly—where there are still problems with drinking water supplies, with provision of mains service, with the quality of roads and necessary services, and so on. Some mistaken ideas have also arisen here about the establishment of key villages, which in practice have meant that certain settlements and villages have begun to depopulate. On the whole, however, primarily thanks to the sensible and prudent management of agricultural policy, I can say that it has led to prosperity in rural areas and a high standard of living for the working people. [applause]

So what is the thinking of those in the party leadership who formulate the guidelines of agricultural policy and our future program in this field? We will promote the growth of a modern, productive and efficient agricultral sector as a sector of the national economy with full and equal rights; we will promote business activities in agricultural enterprises, not only in the production of foodstuffs, but also of raw materials, products and services for other sectors of the national economy. We will seek to open ways for our agricultural sector to enter the European and world markets, and to eradicate all this.

We take the view that we must guarantee this prosperity for agricultural enterprises, guarantee increased living standards for farmers and the rural population in general, provide them with the guarantees for life, for the balanced and dynamic development of rural areas, and bring them into balance with urban areas. We will demand a fair state pricing, subsidy, and taxation policy for agriculture, and full recompense through prices of its socially vital costs. We must put an end to the discrepancy between the cost of production equipment and services supplied to agriculture by other sectors, and their utility value.

We consider untenable the unequal status of agricultural enterprises as compared with the large monopoly suppliers regarding deliveries of machinery, equipment, services, fertilizers, and chemicals. [applause] We will

promote state assistance to agriculture in its concern to maintain a healthy environment and shape the countryside in a sound way. Our policy will therefore be the further development of the farming cooperatives as progressive and enterprising forms of developing democracy within the cooperative movement, and the rights of cooperative members to freely choose what they want to produce and how they want to use the results of their work. [applause]

The existing practice of building socialism lays itself open to many critical reservations. However, we should not allow anyone to make light of the past 40 years of hard work and the dedication and sacrifice of our farmers, nor to belittle the struggle for larger-scale agricultural production. We value all those who overcame the difficult initial stages of putting our rural areas on a socialist footing, who overcame the mistakes and shortcomings, and who devoted their whole lives to that objective—among them were hundreds of thousands of Communists.

I very much appreciate the fact that Comrade Minister Algayer paid tribute to the founder members of the United Agricultural Cooperatives (JZD). They deserve this recognition, and I thank them for [word indistinct]. [applause]

We consider the political dialogue that has been initiated as a suitable platform for a wide range of open views to be heard. However, we will only achieve a beneficial result through sober reason. The views prevailing in the dialogue so far are those which support a socialist path for our further development. We are convinced that through their active participation and general attitudes, members of the farming cooperatives will support the further development of socialism in our country, and will work to consolidate that development. [applause] I would like to pay tribute to your civic prudence and wisdom so far in the current complex political situation.

Dear friends, comrades, let us return to the last few days, because in analyzing the current state and prospects for our agriculture, we can find many lessons and many valuable pointers for the party's future political work, and its future. Human society is as much a living and multifaceted organism as nature, which is the most characteristic setting for your life and work, albeit in modern production enterprises utilising science and technology.

In conclusion: I shall not conceal it—and we heard it in the debate here several times—some of you aim to establish a new political party defending the aims of the farmers and village population. The CPCZ, in my opinion, has all the prerequisites to hold this social function. [applause] We have endorsed political pluralism in these new conditions—and the decision is yours, it belongs to you, the delegates. But whether a new party will or will not be established, I want to assure you that care of agriculture—in Bohemian, Moravian, Slovak villages—will always be the center of our attention; [applause] that our farmers and village dwellers will always find in the CPCZ a defender of their just interests; that the farmers, who constitute at the moment a progressive force in this society, will be considered by the CPCZ its natural ally, advocate of socialism, and reliable follower of the progressive national traditions of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, as it has convinced us many times in history. [applause]

One name has been proposed here—that of Miroslav Zajic—yes, I can confirm that this person is a distinguished expert who has agricultural policy extremely clear to him. However, I must say that Comrade Zajic is a Communist. [applause] He is a member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and its secretary. [applause] Together with him, we have been going through difficult night debates. And I should not forget others, like Comrades Knotek, Liska, Mohorita, and others. I can honorably say that Comrade Zajic said: Even if things are like that, we shall stay in the party, just the two of us. [applause] This means that if a new party were established and you wanted him as your leader, you would have to come to terms with the fact that you have a Communist as your leader. [applause]

Comrades, allow me, in concluding my address, to express the conviction that diligent work will always be the basis of the prosperity of society and satisfaction of the people. This was confirmed to me recently by Kladno miners. During your congress, you yourselves are confirming it. Therefore, I am turning to you esteemed delegates, to convey the party's thanks to all those of you who are contributing to these values. You can count on the support of the CPCZ also in the future. [applause]

Farmers Boo Opposition Speaker

AU0212162689

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech (via Bratislava I) at 1500 GMT on 1 December carries an unscheduled 65-minute live relay of the opening day of the Congress of the Union of Cooperative Farmers, which is held in Prague's Palace of Culture. The congress is attended by a party, government, and National Front delegation, which includes Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, and Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec.

In addition to portions of Karel Urbanek's speech, the relay includes discussions with delegates in a makeshift studio set up in the Palace of Culture and videorecorded portions of discussion statements and greetings messages delivered at the congress earlier in the day. A brief message of greetings by an unnamed representative of the Civic Forum meets with boos and other expressions of strong disapproval from the hall, especially when he makes critical comments about the development of the Czechoslovak countryside over the past 40 years and mentions the need to "renew a civilized and truly cultured" rural life. The hall also responds with whistling

to two representatives of Prague actors who came to greet the congress. One of them, Regina Razlova from the National Theater, deplores the fact that 1,100 tickets for the 1 December evening performance of the National Theater, which had been reserved for the delegates, have been canceled "in the delegates' name." According to Razlova, this means that for the first time in the more than 100 years of its existence the National Theater will be empty.

On the other hand, the delegates give an enthusiastic welcome to the message of greetings delivered by an Army representative. The ovations reach their peak when the Army representative mentions the name of Klement Gottwald, the CPCZ leader in the Stalin era, when he requests Premier Adamec to have Milan Vaclavik continue to head the defense portfolio in his new Government, and when he demands that those "be called to account" who "abused" the president of the republic and commander in chief of the CSSR Armed Forces during the recent public rallies. A congress delegate interviewed by the moderators of the program criticizes the composition of the congress delegates as "undemocratic" and "unrepresentative" because, as he points out, 72 percent of them are CPCZ members and 50 percent chairmen of cooperative farms.

Adamec Addresses Congress

LD0212154689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1310 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Speech by Premier Ladislav Adamec at the 11th National Congress of United Agricultural Cooperatives in Prague; date not given—recorded]

[Text] As a guest at your congress, I want to express a factual remark: I would never forgive myself if I did not take this opportunity to say a few words to you here. I quite informally and sincerely thank all the farmers for the good results of their honest and dedicated work. [applause] Please consider it a view of someone who grew up in the village, who became acquainted with the difficulties of farmers' lives, and who has great respect for them. [applause] I thank you for sufficient food in the shops, for full larders in our households. This is no small contribution. However, is it enough considering the high demands of consumers? The low degree of people's satisfaction as to choice and quality of goods and packaging of foods is a well-known fact. No doubt may reasons for this can be found, but consumers are interested in solutions, in ways for and time of improvement. We all have to agree on this very quickly. People's nutrition is not only an affair of full shops; this represents great progress compared with the past. What is involved, above all, is the composition of food, expanding choices of goods and biological value. If, for example, there are not enought high-quality fresh vegetables and fruit in shops, then appeals for healthy eating are pointless. Allow me to illustrate my ideas with a banal example of, say, supplies of carrots to Prague and other towns. How can housewives or even enterprises of public catering find a choice of dirty, withered, and damaged roots attractive? I know that more important things are on the agenda at the moment, but this does not justify our forgetting what seem to be trifles. We consider all that concerns health of the population a priority, virtually statemanship affair. Naturally, this is by far not only the affair of United Agricultural Cooperatives. The entire chain, however, starts from preserving biological values of soil, from the production of sufficient high-quality goods. This is also where your responsiblity is irreplaceable.

I am listening to the debate very attentively. Disagreement has been voiced here with my criticism of high subsidies for the agriculture and food industry. Naturally, everybody has the right to voice their opinion; they are not hiding that the problem is truly considerably complicated. There is not point in arguing about the authority and correctness of various results and indices. Next year, we will discuss in detail the overall policy of subsidies and its aims for the future. The conclusion and proposals will be assessed by the broad public. You, too, will have the opportunity to voice your views, and they certainly will be taken into account. I agree with the fact that only hard work decides the fulfilment of great hopes and the strivings of the people, expressed with such spontaneity in the past few days. I am convinced that there is enough to be put right and changed in agriculture. It is also in this sphere that there are many unused possibilities, perhaps more than we are aware of. After doing away with the remaining administrative obstacles and hindrances, nothing is in the way of faster progress in our villages, as well. I support the view that much more than ever before other branches of the national economy must contribute toward this, particularly engineers, chemical and building engineers, transport employees, and others. [applause]

Many reminders, ideas, and proposals have been voiced here. All have to be assessed objectively and in peace. I am among those who keep their word. I do not make vain promises or cheap politics. [applause] It is in my nature that I am demanding rather than praising. Please, forgive me this. I take your criticism very seriously and considerately. Many views are even somewhat distorted; they are not altogether objective. We will, therefore, discuss them all in the government and will acquaint you with the conclusions.

In conclusion, allow me a brief note: Let us be very critical to one another, but even today, respect for work of others, willingness to cooperate, mutual help, and trust are decisive. Thank you. [applause]

Congress Ends; New Party Formed

LD0212221989 Prague CTK in English 1847 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 2 (CTK)—The 11th two-day congress of Czechoslovak cooperative farmers ended here today electing a new 111-member central committee with Emil Sedlak becoming the union's new chairman.

The congress also elected new union bodies in the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics, and approved new union rules.

The 2,000 delegates representing almost one million Czechoslovak cooperative farmers assessed fulfilment of the tasks of the Czechoslovak agro-food complex in the past period and adopted a resolution on its further development.

Appreciated in discussion were the undoubtful achievements of Czechoslovak farming the past years, but on the other hand existing problems and shortcomings were pointed out.

The delegates criticized, for instance, unsuitable material technical equipment, inadequate economic independence of cooperative farms, insufficient solution of social problems of cooperative farmers, and insufficient application of cooperative democracy.

Attention was also paid to ecological problems in agriculture and possibilities of their quick solution. The congress participants also criticized that they did not get sufficient replies to a number of comments made in the pre-congress discussion.

Views could be heard that in view of the current political situation in Czechoslovakia the congress should have been postponed since the preparation of the congress and election of delegates no longer correspond to the current development.

A number of delegates to the congress proposed that a new political party be founded which would defend the interests of farmers, food producers and the countryside.

On the initiative of a part of delegates a preparatory committee to establish the party was set up. The party should be called the Czechoslovak Farmers' Party.

The congress participants approved a statement on the current internal political situation in Czechoslovakia which says, inter alia, that the inconsistent solution of all-society and economic problems led to the current tense situation. The inadequate action against students November 17 was culmination of this crisis development.

The statement, denouncing the action against students, calls for unification of all sound forces in society to restore the fundamental values of socialism.

To contribute to the solution of topical political and economic problems, the union expressed its readiness to propose its own candidates for members of the coalition governments at both the federal and national levels.

Agricultural Cooperatives Discuss Farmers Party

LD0612045389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Report from Slusovice by editor Jaroslav Hudec]

[Text] A while ago a group of delegates to the 11th Congress of United Agricultural Cooperatives, which united in a preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Farmers' Party, finished working out here draft statutes of the program statement and organizational procedures for establishing organizations. They can be established on the basis of the initiative of a group of people who will have the inner conviction about the justification of this party to represent the interests of farmers. According to the Preparatory Committee Chairman (Pavel Delinga), the activity of primary organizations must be separated from the work of economic organizations. The party will be open to everyone, whether to farmers from cooperatives, state farms, or privately working farmers. The party can also be joined by employees of the food and forestry industries, and the agricultural education sector. The interest of future members is very keen, and organizers are of the opinion that it could be one of the most significant political parties. A constituent congress of statewide character should be held in at least 2 months.

Founding Congress Set for 13 Jan

LD0612180789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The Preparatory Committee of the new Czechoslovak Agricultural Party, meeting in Vsemina near Gottwaldov, has completed the party's draft stances, program declaration, and organizational principles for the setting up of its primary organizations.

The purpose of the party will be to defend its members' interests and to contribute to the general development of the village. The party will accept members from among farmers working in united agricultural enterprises or state farms, private farmers, employees working in the food industry and forestry, and other citizens.

The founding congress of the party should be held on 13 January.

National Defense Council Members Removed

LD0612155789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following a decision by the GDR State Council on Wednesday, all members of the National Defense Council have been relieved of their posts. Egon Krenz has resigned from his office as chairman of the National Defense Council.

The State Council decided on an amnesty on the same day.

Gerlach on Appointment as Acting Chairman

LD0612171489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 163- GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Immediately after the meeting of the GDR State Council, its acting chairman, Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, explained the decisions of the body. He announced that he was not available for the office of the chairman of the GDR State Council. Neither would he stand as candidate in the event of a constitutional change and introduction of a presidential office.

The proposal to entrust him with the implementation of the relevant constitutional tasks as acting chairman of the State Council was based on a proposal of the parties represented in the coalition government, said Gerlach. He will exercise this office temporarily until the People's Chamber elects a new chairman of the State Council and a new chairman of the National Defense Council. It was not yet known when the People's Chamber would be meeting for this.

As the strongest parliamentary group, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has the right to submit relevant proposals for the office of the State Council chairman and that of the chairman of the Defense Council. He hoped that this would take place very soon, if possible at the beginning of next year.

Gerlach added that he had not agreed to act in this office with pleasure. However in the present situation, he had been the only possible alternative.

Further on Gerlach

LD0612194189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1815 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Immediately after the Council of State session, its acting chairman; Manfred Gerlach, explained the body's decisions. [passage omitted]

The right of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] to propose laws should be a "very short transitional solution," Gerlach remarked in response to questions from journalists. Much still had to be amended in the current Constitution, and that was included.

Shortly before this, Gerlach pointed to the statement by Egon Krenz at the start of the Council of State session, without commenting on it. In response to the question of whether there were criminal inquiries against Egon Krenz, Gerlach said: "I know nothing about him violating the laws of the GDR, neither do I know of any accusations or suspicions against him." As regards his political work, that was subject to other measures of assessment.

With respect to the continued existence of the Council of State as an organ of the People's Chamber, Gerlach said in response to a question that this body did and does not exactly enjoy great sympathy from the people because of its work, its way of working, and its former chairman, the former general secretary of the SED Central Comittee. For this reason alone; the office of its chairman was not much worth striving for.

At this opportunity, Manfred Gerlach stressed that he was very much for the democratic renewal taking place in the GDR. In this connection, all cases of corruption and misuse of power must be exposed. Everything had to be put on the table.

All those who have remained honest should be protected accordingly. Gerlach was thus indirectly commenting on cases of vigilantism and legal transgressions, which nothing could justify. In this connection, he said a few words about himself: "I have nothing to reproach myself with, even if an investigation by the State Prosecutor's Office against me is applied for." For the past 27 years, he had lived in a single-family house, which he rented in the Berlin city borough of Keopenick, drove a "Lada" privately, and two service cars as State Council member and party chairman, as long as he was in those functions. He had no property, either here or outside the country—for such views also existed—neither did he have an account abroad or engage in financial manipulations within the GDR.

Asked about the resignation of the National Defense Council, Gerlach noted that the council members had always been appointed and dismissed by the State Council. A large proportion of the Defense Council membership already had left the body a while ago. The State Council would continue to make the basic decisions for the necessary defense of the country. This was in accordance with the Constitution. It was a matter for the government to implement the measures resulting from this.

Krenz Statement to Chamber on Resignation

LD0612175989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1702 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz has sent the following statement to the president of the GDR's People's Chamber, Dr Guenther Maleuda:

When the People's Chamber elected me chairman of the GDR's Council of State on 24 October 1989, I took the

oath with the firm intention of using all my strength for the preservation of the country as a sovereign, socialist republic and for its citizens' good, for a firm alliance with the fraternal socialist states, and for peaceful cooperation with all nations and states.

I had earlier taken the initiative, together with political friends, for a turnabout in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leadership's policies. The motive for our action was the recognition, which had come to maturity over a long period of time, that the old leadership was constantly deepening the contradiction between popular will and policies which were detached from reality and were leading our country into a deep crisis. The leadership's failure to recognize the unrealistic assessment of the situation summoned up great dangers for our country, which did not rule out violent clashes between the power of the state and the populace.

For this reason, the first goal of this change was to do everything to solve political conflicts by political means. My party documented its will for radical social renewal in its program of action, to work with a Socialist Unity Party of Germany which was renewing itself for a socialist society, which was renewing itself in the GDR politically and responsibly, and in which socialism and democracy belonged together forever.

People had become aware that it was not merely a matter of failure on the part of individuals but that the Stalinist system had in the course of decades deformed the SED and our society and had undermined the humanist essence of our society. Real democracy, without which no socialism is possible, was unable to develop. At that time, I was not as acutely aware of the full extent of the deformation which has now come to light.

My many years of membership in the State Council and in the Politburo under Erich Honecker's leadership reduced the credibility of the policy of renewing socialism represented by me among many citizens.

Trust among the people, is, however, the first precondition for exercising the function of the chairman of the State Council. In the meantime, events have occurred which were unforseeable at the time of my election as chairman of the State Council.

In the interests of the GDR's stability and the necessary revolutionary renewal in our country, I am resigning from my post as chairman of the State Council and chairman of the National Defense Council of the GDR.

It is my hope that the GDR people will make irreversible the process of renewal for which they have fought. We must, however, also recognize the danger threatening our homeland from antisocialist forces. Every revolution harbors the danger of counterforces. These antisocialist forces went to break the pride of our people and offer the work of generations for sale. We must jointly resist this. In this hour of extreme danger, all those who are concerned about this country must stand together for reasons of patriotic responsibility.

In this letter, I once again unconditionally support the appeal "For Our Country," with which responsible public figures have addressed the citizens of our country.

As a citizen of the GDR, I will continue in the future to work with all my strength for my homeland.

Army Leaders Appeal to Troops To 'Secure Peace'

LD0612194689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1846 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The leadershp of the NVA [National People's Army] and the GDR's Frontier Troops has called on the people's soldiers to fulfill their constitutional task of defending the GDR calmly and reliably during these fateful hours. In an appeal to the citizens of the GDR conveyed to ADN today, the citizens of the GDR are requested "to share our concern for securing peace and to support our efforts for this. Only together can we maintain the sovereignty of the GDR and save our country from anarchy and chaos."

The NVA's systems on land, on sea, and in the air required full commitment. Any interference could summon up dangers for the GDR's security, it is stressed. Disturbances of law and order at military establishments should not be permitted. Illegal access to weapons, ammunition, and fuel should be prevented and danger to citizens and soldiers ruled out. Order was to be maintained on the state frontier. A contribution was being made to maintaining vital social functions by high performances in the national economy, in transport, and the health service, as well as in local supply institutions, in close alliance with all sections of the people.

The soldiers are called on to secure peace at the center of Europe reliably, together with the forces of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states.

Government Issues Appeal for Calm

LD0612171189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1640 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Press and Information Service of the GDR Government, in a communication sent to ADN on Wednesday, noted that signs of attacks on builders and facilities of the National People's Army have been increasing in the past hours. It said: In this connection, the GDR Government calls for calm and level-headedness.

The GDR National People's Army alone has the constitutional task of protecting the peaceful life of citizens against attacks from outside the country. It is equipped and trained for this purpose.

The GDR Government appeals emphatically that all actions against buildings and facilities of the National

People's Army be stopped. Entry into buildings and facilities of the National People's Army is permitted only to representatives of the People's Chamber and the GDR Government.

Text of State Council's Amnesty Decision

LD0612173589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Following is the text of the 6 December GDR State Council decision on amnesty:

1. The amnesty applies to persons who:

—were legally sentenced before 6 December 1989 to terms of imprisonment for premeditated and negligent offenses;

—were sentenced before 6 December 1989 to terms of imprisonment up to 3 years for crimes;

—were sentenced before 6 December 1989 to a term of imprisonment for premeditated and negligent offenses and to terms of imprisonment up to 3 years for crimes, the legal validity of which only becomes operative after 6 December 1989.

2. The amnesty does not apply to persons sentenced for:

—sexual crimes;

—robbery and blackmail;

—murder, bodily harm with consequent death, and serious bodily harm;

—hooliganism.

3. People given custodial sentences are to be released from prison. Sentences are not to be carried out where their implementation has not yet begun.

Persons suspected of committing a criminal act before 6 December 1989, but who had not been legally sentenced before 6 December 1989, are to be amnestied after the decision has legally come into force, in as far as the prerequisities named in No. 1 above exist and the grounds for exclusion named in No. 2 above do not apply.

4. The following supplementary punishment and measures by the court for reintegration:

—Restrictions on residence in accordance with paragraphs 51 and 52 of the Criminal Code.

—Measures for reintegration in accordance with paragraphs 47, 48, and 249, Subsection 5.

5. Liability for damages are not affected by the amnesty.

6. If the amnestied persons are given a prison sentence within 3 years for a premeditated crime, the remainder of the unserved sentence must additionally be carried out.

7. Exoneration from serving sentences are to be implemented in the period from 12 December-15 February 1990.

8. The local councils, enterprises, and institutions, as well as the cooperative executives, must ensure equal integration in the working process and housing sector on the basis of the law on rehabilitation of citizens released from prision into public life of April 1977 (Penal Code I, No. 10 page 96).

9. The GDR public prosecutor is charged with ensuring the implementation of the amnesty and reporting on this to the State Council in conjunction with the heads of the central justice and security organs.

[Dated] Berlin, 6 December, 1989

[Signed] The acting chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, professor Dr Manfred Gerlach

The Secretary of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, Heinz Eichler

Terms Explained

LD0712101189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0834 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Persons suspected of corruption, abuse of power, and enrichment, and those against whom corresponding investigative procedures are already under way, are not included in the amnesty. This was stated to ADN on Thursday morning by the general state attorney of the GDR.

Prisoners Protest Amnesty Regulations

LD0712105889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1018 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—Immediately after the announcement of the amnesty there were massive protests on Wednesday evening by prisoners in the penal institution Brandenburg (GDR area Potsdam), the press spokesman of the People's Police Area authority said. The prisoners, who were protesting against the amnesty regulations that were dissatisfactory in their opinion, threw burning objects from the windows and destroyed furnishings. About 70 of them succeeded in forcibly opening custody rooms. They intended to break out of the penal institution. Employees of the institution, who were massively threatened, were able—supported by People's Police operational forces—to reintroduce order and security late in the evening without using physical force.

On Thursday morning, the prisoners stated that they were still refusing to work or eat in order to push through their demands, which still exist, for a comprehensive amnesty.

In the Brandenburg penal institution there are, in the majority, persons imprisoned who are not included in the amnesty regulations because of their serious crimes.

Prison Strike Situation Called 'Tense'

LD0512144289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1338 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Two-thirds of the convicts in Bautzen prison (GDR Bezirk [area] Dresden) have continued the hunger strike they began over the weekend. In this way they want to give emphasis to their demands for amnesty, abolition of various paragraphs in the Criminal Code, and liquidation of their debts to the state. The governor of the prison, Lieutenant Colonel Dieter Sternberg, said the situation in the prison was very tense, according to the SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG.

The 400 inmates of the Rostock-Warnemuende penal institution informed the OSTSEE-ZEITUNG through a 15-member council of a catalogue of demands, including improvement in food and accommodation, unrestricted postal contacts, and a new system of rewards. Nazi and war criminls and sex offenders, as well as the now unmasked economic criminals, should be excepted from the general amnesty they are also demanding.

The prisoners in Ueckermuende prison (Neubrandenburg Bezirk) expressed their solidarity with the demands in other prisons in an open letter. The letter is being passed on to the People's Chamber. In Neustrelitz, another prison in the bezirk, the inmates refused to start work in the relevant factories. [passage omitted]

Charges Sought Against Ex-Security Chief

LD0612182489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1751 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The members of the Investigative Commission of the Berlin City parliament today passed a resolution to lay charges with the GDR's state prosecutor against the former minister for state security, Erich Mielke, Major General Siegfried Haehnel, Lieutenant General Friehelm Rausch, and the Berlin state prosecutor, Dr Dieter Simon.

For the first time, those responsible for the actions of the protection and security organs against demonstrators on 7 October were specifically named today. The name of the former minister of the now dissolved Ministry of State Security, Erich Mielke, was the first to come up in the investigatory commission of the Berlin City Parliament to clear up citizens' queries in connection with attacks by members of the police and the State Security.

The ex-minister had been in charge of the Berlin deployment on 7-8 October this year, the head of the Bezirk [area] Office for National Security, Major General Siegfried Haehnel, stated. Mielke had also ordered that "demonstrations should under no circumstances be permitted and that they should be broken up", Berlin's police president, Lieutenant General Friedhelm Rausch, added.

General Fritz Streletz, deputy defense minister and secretary of the National Defense Council, appeared for the first time before the commission. He revealed an order with the signature of Erich Honecker to "...safeguard security and order in the capital on the occasion of the 40th anniversary..." According to Streletz, the assumption was made that "certain circles in the FRG and West Berlin and groups maintained by them" had appealed for "a campaign of incitement against the social order in the GDR".

The general explained in this regard that, at least since his commencement of service as secretary of the Defense Council in 1972, this body had never dealt with questions of internal security. It had not met for a session since June 1989. When questioned by the commission, Streletz stressed that this order had nothing to do with the operations of police and security on those days. Units of the National People's Army had been dispatched to the Brandenburger Tor to increase the protection of the state border to West Berlin; they were not under the command of Mielke or Haehnel or Rausch. Streletz had only learned at this session of the commission that ex-minister Mielke issued his own orders. "I don't know whether he had these instructions confirmed by the then-chairman of the National Defense Council, Erich Honecker, or not."

Mielke Held Responsible

LD0712110689 East Berlin Television Service in German 1836 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] One of those mainly responsible for the violent encroachments and legal offences in the period of 7-9 October is former State Security Minister Mielke. This conjecture was corroborated at today's session of the members of the independent commission in charge of investigating the incidents. Mielke was in command during the operations on 7-8 October. It was at his instruction that the legally envisioned arrest deadline of no more than 24 hours was exceeded. According to Berlin People's Police President Rausch, the former minister ordered special equipment to be made available, and gave the instruction not to allow public demonstrations under any circumstances and to immediately disperse them.

Leipzig Official on 9 Oct Demonstrations

AU2311190189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "This Is What Happened in Leipzig on 9 October"]

[Text] Comrade Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], sent us the

following letter, which was addressed to him by Comrade Jochen Pommert, secretary of the Leipzig Bezirk SED leadership. We publish it because it is of interest in connection with our report in the Saturday [18 November] edition of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND about the events in Leipzig on 9 and 13 October:

Dear Comrade Schabowski:

For quite some time there has been the question of why six Leipzig personages sent an appeal for prudence, reason, peacefulness, and dialogue to the citizens of Leipzig and also to the government on 9 October 1989. One can also hear statements to the effect that they acted with the agreement of others—wherever it came from. I have to respond to this.

Since socialist renewal in our country requires truthfulness, honesty, as well as integrity, as characteristics of a new political culture in dealing with the citizens and with each other, I am writing this letter to you.

The six of us met of our own free will; in a frightening situation we looked for a possibility to prevent very bad things for the citizens of the city and for the entire country.

There was no one who ordered, authorized, or supported us in this. Hope was raised when I heard through a telephone conversation at about 1915 on 9 October that Egon Krenz supported the attitude of the three secretaries of the bezirk leadership.

As regards me personally, I was absolutely aware of the fact that I could be called to account by my party under the circumstances at that time. The subsequent discussion in the then-Secretariat of the bezirk leadership confirmed this.

Of course, there will still be essential things to be told about 9 October 1989 in Leipzig. But concerning the actions, the motives, and the responsibility of those six personages from Leipzig—Kurt Masur, director of the Gewandhaus Orchestra; Father Peter Zimmermann; Bernd-Lutz Lange; Kurt Meyer; Roland Woetzel; and I—I wanted to let you know the fears and reasons that were the bases of our actions. It was the command of our conscience to work with responsibility for peacefulness, prudence, and for renewal through dialogue and trusting actions by all who are willing to participate.

Jochen Pommert.

Suspect of 'Serious Crime' Commits Suicide

LD0612212189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2030 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A man who was apprehended by citizens at the electrical industry headquarters in Berlin on Monday evening [4 December] and handed over to the People's Police hanged himself in the detention center today. He was suspected of committing a serious crime. Investigations by the State Prosecutor's Office and the criminal police showed that the member of staff of the detention center charged with guarding the accused is not implicated in his suicide.

It had been reported yesterday that the man had tried to escape with two suitcases during joint checks by members of the People's Police and members of New Forum at the electrical industry headquarters and was arrested. According to the BERLINER ZEITUNG the suitcases contained M100,000 and more than DM500,00. The money was to have gone to a fictitious firm which is connected with the fugitive Schalck-Golodkowski.

National Security Chief in Gera Dismissed

LD0712110289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1046 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Gera (ADN)—The head, to date, of the Office for National Security in Gera, Major General Dieter Dangriess, was relieved of his function effective 7 December. The press spokesmen of the office said this to ADN.

The functions was given to Lieutenant Colonel Michael Trostorff.

FDGB To Investigate 'Misuse of Office'

LD0612233889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2141 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—At its meeting today the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] working Secretariat convened the 12th session of the FDGB national executive for this Saturday [9 December] morning in Berlin. The working Secretariat of the FDGB national executive regarded this decision as necessary in view of the complicated situation which has arisen in the organization. [passage omitted]

The working Secretariat confirmed the composition of an investigating committee for the sphere of the FDGB national executive to look into accusations of misuse of office and corruption. The formation of this committee was decided by the 11th meeting of the national executive. It is chaired by Prof Dr Walter Hantsche, head of the department of labor law at the 'Fritz Heckert' trade union college. [passage omitted]

Corruption Probe Against Schwerin SED Chief

LD0712101589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0922 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—Investigative proceedings "on account of acts of malversation" were instigated on Wednesday [as received] by the area state attorney against Heinz Ziegner, former first secretary of the Schwerin Socialist Unity Party of Germany area organization.

He is suspected of the criminal act of unjustified use of means and material for measures to increase personal living comfort in the house of the communal residence he lived in.

Deputy Defense Minister on Arms Sales

LD0612203189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1851 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Ministry for National Defense and the GDR National People's Army [NVA] do not deal in arms, stated Deputy Defense Minister General Joachim Goldbach to ADN on Wednesday. There were facilities and trade organizations in the GDR, among them the IMES [expansion unknown] company, which had carried this out on behalf of the government. THe NVA itself had nothing to do with this trade, nor with the arms store at Kavesltorf.

Goldbach denied assertions that a number of tanks from dissolved NVA regiments had been technically reconditioned and shipped to Ethiopia via Rostock. Ethiopia had been sold, in all, 200 tanks pro forma on the basis of a decision by Erich Honecker, former chairman of the State Council and the National Defense Council, without the money having been called in at any time. Of these tanks, 152 had been sent to Ethiopia by September 1989. The NVA had only prepared them, the execution of such affairs was done via the Foreign Trade Ministry.

These tanks were taken out of the stocks of the NVA in anticipation of further reductions as a result of the Vienna negotiations. They were not connected with the 600 tanks that had been reduced unilaterally. The remaining 48 tanks for Ethiopia were barred from export at the instruction of Minister for National Defense Theodor Hoffmann.

Heusinger Comments Further on Vogel Arrest

LD0612184989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1806 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Minister of Justice Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger gave a statement to journalists today on the incidents concerning the lawyer Professor Dr Wolfgang Vogel.

Vogel was released on Tuesday night/Wednesday morning after being briefly detained because the accusations of criminal blackmail were proved unfounded in the view of the State Prosecutor's Office. He said that examination had shown that in representing fugitive former State Secretary Schalck-Golodkowski, the accused had upheld his obligations as a lawyer, which also include maintaining confidentiality.

In his statement, Heusinger stressed: "The fact that a lawyer was detained while exercising his legal activity is an impossibility in our state. I have expressed this view in a personal talk with Prof Dr Vogel.

"It has emerged that the accusations concern matters which could have been cleared up within 5 minutes on further inquiry in my ministry and in the state notary's office. There are no grounds for suspicion whatsoever.

"It is suspected that this was an attempt to receive information from Vogel which cannot be obtained when a person is at liberty. I regard this as an extremely serious intervention in the exercise of legal activity." He supported all lawyers in their work. He would very much regret it if it was confirmed that the lawyer Vogel had shut down his legal practice.

Asked who had ordered the arrest, the minister stated that it had apparently been the State Prosecutor's Office. A magistrate's arrest warrant had no longer been necessary since Vogel's release occurred a short while later.

Vogel To Continue Private Legal Practice

LD0612215289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2047 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The office of Professor Dr Wolfgang Vogel, Dieter Starkulia, and Klaus Hartmann will continue its practice unchanged, the office said this evening to ADN. It is only correct that Professor Vogel has relinquished the mandate granted to him by the government. All legal representations of citizens will continue to be carried out.

Corruption Committee Holds 1st Public Hearing

LD0612230489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2034 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The ad hoc People's Chamber Committee for the Investigation of Cases of Abuse of Office, Corruption, Personal Enrichment and Other Actions, in which there is suspicion of violations of the law, today continued its work in Berlin with its first public questioning of witnesses and experts.

The first to be heard by the 20-man body, chaired by Dr Heinrich Toeplitz, was Karlheinz Martini, state secretary at the Ministry of Construction and Housing. During this the deputies pursued tips from citizens to clarify the collaboration on the part of the leadership of the old Construction Ministry in the building of certain privately owned homes. At the request of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] group, the former chairman of the National Executive of the Metals Industrial Trade Union, Gerhard Nennstiel, was given the opportunity to give a statement to the committee.

After the session the executive of the committee, to which all representatives of all parties belong, made a statement to the press: "We must all see to it that the guilty are called to account," Dr Toeplitz said. He applied to all citizens to guarantee state order in the country. For this reason state institutions should not be hampered in their work. Many people are now very angry, he added. However, we live in a state which we

want to develop into a state based on the rule of law, and that rules out taking the law into one's own hands.

On behalf of the committee, Dr Toeplitz roundly condemned discrimination against people who had worked honestly and hard for the People's Police, the State Security Police and for state and party bodies. The most important thing in the country is an atmosphere of dignified human relations. It must prevail at this, of all times, when we want to have order and a new socialism.

Over the past few days, the committee had been permanently in session. It is under great pressure of time and expectations, it was also announced. There have been a number of investigations and hearings, for example, with representatives of the state prosecutor, the Interior Ministry, the Office for National Security and the Defense Ministry. They have spoke with many citizens. The committee is making efforts to include new experts in its work, and also put forward the proposal of co-opting representatives of Democratic Departure and New Forum onto it. Working parties are being formed, including ones on the point of emphasis, the Ko-Ko woodland estate and dubious buildings. Further hearings on former high-ranking state functionaries were planned, to which the press would be invited.

Toeplitz Speech at People's Chamber 1 Dec

LD0112225489 East Berlin Television Service in German 1622 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Report by Dr Heinrich Toeplitz, chairman of the People's Chamber ad hoc commission on abuse of privilege, at the People's Chamber session in Berlin—live]

[Text] Mr President, honored deputies of the People's Chamber. On behalf of the members of the investigatory commission that you elected, I would like to thank you for the trust you have shown us. We will justify ourselves by work that is in accordance with the interests of the citizens.

We are faced with the task of ascertaining the truth in all the cases that have been presented to us or that have been made known to us through petitions from citizens. That means to make sure that those who are guilty will be brought to account regardless of who they are. Prejudgements, some of which are laden with emotions, will influence us just as little as the cheap excuses that one hears occasionally now through the mass media. We will also help to refute unfounded rumors. I would like to say in all openness that our work serves the restoration of state order in our country. Part of this is also a climate of dignified human relations, it excludes insulting or defaming thousands of people in various functions who have worked honestly and also [words indistinct] for this state. [applause]

This is neither human nor, if you allow me to say so as a CDU [Christian Democratic Union] deputy, Christian. The persecution of whole categories of people is a dark chapter in German history. We must permit no repetition of this under a different name. [applause]

Allow me to make a few remarks about the commission's method of work. First of all, in our constituting session we decided on our procedures that give our commission the right to hear relevant witnesses and experts and to examine documents. Here we have met with the problem that the procedures of the People's Chamber do not provide a sufficient basis for this. Paragraph 34 assumes only cooperation between committees and state organs. It is worth noting that so far there has never been a committee equipped with such rights in the People's Chamber, in contrast, for example, to the Bundestag. We have therefore submitted to the People's Chamber Presidium a proposal that is essential for the commission's work.

Secondly, throughout the population and in the mass media a call is being made for openness and information. This also applies to the work of our commission. Clearly, some editors have not understood this yet. For example, in NEUE ZEIT, my party's central organ, the report about the constitution of the commission was not printed at all. In the BERLINER ZEITUNG it appeared without the executive, which consists of deputies of the five parties represented in the government. You can also look in vain in today's papers for the press report about our commission's meeting yesterday. It was passed to ADN at 1605 and passed to the editorial offices at 1755. We would be pleased to note a changed approach in the future.

Thirdly, the commission has made use of the possibility, in line with paragraph 29 of the People's Chamber's procedures, of bringing in experts for permanent involvement. It has called in (Marlies Ewald), judge at the Berlin City Court and the advocate [name indistinct] nominated by the Berlin bar. Other appointments are intended. The commission has formed a standing working group, which will work together with the representatives of the control and investigative organs, State Prosecutor's Office, Interior Ministry, Office for National Security, Auditor's Office, and Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate.

At present, the members of the committee are involved in examining the hundreds of submissions from the citizens and collectives, the number of which is growing daily. We thank them. We would like to point out that we are under great pressure of time and expectation, which we wish to meet through efficient work. Fourthly, there are already a large number of submissions containing accusations against enterprise managers and local party and state functionaries. Without our committee wishing to limit its responsibility, I would like to pick up the suggestion made by our colleague Weissgerber in the last "Prisma" program that the area [bezirk] and district [kreis] assemblies should, on their own responsibility, form comparable commissions. If this suggestion is taken up, we will gladly cooperate with them.

Honored deputies, in our work to date certain main areas of focus emerge that I would like to discuss in detail, insofar as there is definite knowledge or clear questions.

First, building projects of various types. On the basis of discussion by trade union members on the extravagant building for the National Executive on the Maerkisches Ufer, the committee has established that on the basis of central decisions a M100 million were made available from the state budget for this building. The question of who made this application and who approved it is still open. What trade union funds were additionally spent on the construction is being clarified by the new leadership of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation]. The private buildings, which have led to a quantity of submissions, were carried out by various construction enterprises. For that reason, the committee to date has only a partial overview. Under consideration come the administration of the enterprises run by the Council of Ministers and the former supply facility at Niederschoenhausen, the Potsdam Special Constuction Enterprise, Berlin branch, the construction capacity of the Commercial Coordination Section, and other construction enterprises that were instructed by the management of the Construction Ministry, such as the (?Pirmitz- Stammgarten) district [Kreis] Construction Enterprise. In the sphere of the Council of Ministers, houses were built for the sons of former members of the Politburo Stoph, Kleiber, and Krolikowski. The building was done on the application of the fathers and was approved by the former state secretary of the Council of Ministers, Dr Kleinert. The acting head of the section has confirmed to us that as a result of this construction, building capacity that was intended for the maintenance of residential buildings and delegation guest houses under the responsibility of the supply facility, was blocked.

Some of the family members favored in this way have already moved out in the meantime. This is not true for Frank Krolikowski, the son of Werner Krolikowski. A house was built for him in Uedersee that, according to information from an architect who used to work at VWM, cost at least M400,000. This house was sold to Frank Krolikowski in the fall of 1989 for M125,000 on the instruction of the former deputy head of the Secretariat in the Council of Ministers, Guenter Filling. The competent authorities will have to deal with both the criminal side of this manipulation as well as with this bill of sale—in my text these last three words were in inverted commas.

For the sphere of commercial coordination the commission called for the documents about the 32 family houses that he built. They are before the commission.

The houses are rented to workers in this sphere, other foreign trade workers, scientists and other persons. Among these houses are those of Guenter Mittag's two daughters. They will be vacated as soon as appartments can be made available for the tenants, and will be offered for sale to applicants from circles of scientists and the artistic intelligentsia. This has been formulated in such a way, dear deputies, so that it has to be people who can get together the sale price. This is not stated in my official report.

The other houses will be offered for sale to the present tenants on the basis of a decision by Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the principle of an authorized established report of their value. The fact that the assessment will be done differently from the examples that I cited previously is because the first of these houses has been estimated at values of between M250,000 and M350,000. The commission insists, nevertheless, that before the sales are concluded with the tenants, the specialist reports have to be presented to them. Thus, the questions of citizens who inquired about these best-quality houses above all in [word indistinct] and Hohenschoenhausen should also be answered. The tenants who do not wish to buy the detached houses or who cannot do so have to move to other dwellings. The houses will be put up for sale.

The commission has yet to investigate the legal principles for these extraordinarily costly building measures and the principles for the original allocation of the houses. The commission has seen to it that an exact examination will take place at the Potsdam special construction office. It is already under way. We demand from the Ministry of Construction a complete explanation as to which leading functionaries and under what conditions, for example rewards and favors, building targets were given to local building enterprises, in particular in holiday areas. Only in this way will we be able to gain an overview about state and private construction for a privileged circle of people. Annalies Kimmel, the chairwoman of the FDGB, agreed that the trade union auditing authorities will examine to see whether unjustified building measures for individuals were recorded in their sphere.

The Nennstiel case is being investigated by the State Prosecutor's Office, as the press has already stated. In this complex there are country houses and hunting lodges, some of which have already been spoken about in the mass media. The commission is not in agreement and in an interview in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND it is doubted whether, and here I am quoting in indirect speech, [word indistinct] houses were to be viewed as privileges because they were built by state construction enterprises and had been rented to those concerned. These houses were built using social means but at great cost and according to the wishes of the planned occupants. Further investigations are necessary and are planned into the cost and into the responsibility for these and other properties, for example in the sphere of the (?Slendow) guest house and the building enterprises used there. This is also necessary for the house belonging to one of Horst Sindermann's sons.

Second, questions relating to the special hunting area and privileges linked with this play a great role in the letters to the commission. It has been announced in the

press that the special hunting areas have been lifted. At present, investigations are being carried out at the request of the commission by, among others, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate [ABI], and the financial auditors of the managers up to now of these areas, for which the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry was responsible. The investigations of the ABI controls will be presented to the commission in 2 weeks. It is already clear that these areas that were protected as People's Army areas took up great expanses of forest—for example in the Neubrandenburg area [bezirk] 20 percent. They had at their disposal great fleets of vehicles, with cars and special vehicles, and a considerable number of workers and employees worked there.

Considerable state resources were used for their running. For example, in the Neubrandenburg area resources to the tune of M5.7 million were expended in 1988 from the fund for raw wood production, care of the countryside, and forestry protection. That was 9.3 percent of this fund. [sounds of disapproval from chamber] Some immediate measures have already been taken: abolition of special rights, sensible deployment of staff and the fleet of vehicles, and the sharing of the areas with local hunting societies. The local authorities should, through an exact control, see to it that those who have been using the areas hitherto really do only take their personal property with them. This is also necessary for the hunting lodges in Schorfheide. I beseech the minister for internal affairs and the head of the Office for State ...[changes thought] National Security to give instructions so that ABI workers can be admitted to those grounds that are being guarded without bureaucratic hindrances. This is...[interrupted by applause] This is very necesary for the speedy implementation of these measures.

The commission further requests the heads of the armed authorities in their special hunting areas to take measures accordingly, such as those for the state hunting areas. Please do not misunderstand me here. I do not mean the hunting areas of the bosses, but the hunting areas provided for the Interior Ministry, the National People's Army, etc. I do not want there to be any misunderstanding. After the investigations are concluded, the commission will propose the necessary conclusions against those responsible.

Third, preliminary information is available about the personal privileges of a limited circle of people—I am not speaking here about the press—also from two members of the commission who had gone to the Wandlitz residential settlement. Numerous questions are open: To what extent was the rent paid for the houses, who paid for the staff in the houses, what services were free, what selection of goods was sold in the shops for provisions, semi-luxury foods, and industrial goods, and on what price basis? Those goods that were quickly transported out of Wandlitz are already under the control of the State Prosecutor's Office. It has already been established that these shops also supplied the children and grandchildren of the inhabitants of Wandlitz. The planned resolution of the People's Chamber will give the commission the possibility of ascertaining the truth about this complex. Over and above this, there are individual conclusions from the auditing commission. Here I would like to quote two of them with very differring importance.

On the basis of a decree from the former minister of construction on 15 December 1987, the possibility was created of appointing honorary members of the Construction Academy with an annual endowment of M20,000. The appointment took place via the Ministry of Construction at the suggestion of the Construction Academy. Erich Honecker and Guenter Mittag were already appointed honorary members of the Construction Academy in 1978. [disapproving noises from chamber] As a result of this, they have since received an annual endowment of M20,000 each, in total M240,000 each. [more disapproving noises from chamber]

The other piece of information: From 1985 to 1989, Thomas Kleiber, the son of Guenther Kleiber, received Wartburg and Skoda test vehicles for his personal use. He was still using the Skoda on 27 November this year.

Fourth, the question has been raised in a number of petitions. It plays a role in some of today's questions, as to whether GDR foreign currency resources were really used legally. That is not the case, as far as they were used for the [words indistinct] building materials for leading functionaries and for the special supplies for the Wandlitz settlement. The documents requested from Interflug on the accusation made against Hermann Axen that he flew to the United States in a special aircraft and that $10,000 daily to garage the aircraft had accrued, are already available. According to them, $1,841 for landing parking charges for this aircraft, and $16,075 for fuel for the return flight were paid. Further parking charges did not arise because the aircraft was parked free of charge at a U.S. military airport. Moreover, here it is a question of his business trip as chairman of the People's Chamber foreign policy commission.

The commission has a list of flights made by special aircraft since 1 January 1987, for which considerable sums of money were expended for the servicing, processing, and other expenses. The commission intends to see to what extent flights for private purposes are contained on this list.

The statement made to the commission by the deputy minister of transport responsible for civil aviation, Dr Klaus Henkes, that the circle of people in the GDR hitherto entitled to use special aircraft exceeded by far the international norms, and that Interflug sometimes had problems with the air traffic authorities of other countries is remarkable. Therefore we welcome the fact that yesterday the Council of Ministers resolved to disband the special squadron. [applause]

Together with the question of foreign currency we should also mention the fact that during an unplanned raid on the National Executive of the DTSB [German Sports Federation] a total of DM291,000 was found in office

drawers and other containers and there was no proper evidence as to its origins or use. Clearing up this matter is made difficult because the man responsible for this evaded examination by committing suicide. The cash has been transferred to the State Bank.

Dear deputies, I would like to go into detail about two petitions that I consider to be so important that we intend to conduct talks on the spot with those who wrote them.

A. The opinion of the Germanistic/Slavistics section of the Pedagogical University of Guestrow is that the founding of the Nuebrandenburg Pedagogical University, which was pushed through despite serious protests from the ministry of national education and from the Neubrandenburg and Schwerin areas [bezirke] at a cost of over M80 million by Margot Honecker and Johannes Chemmnitzer, was totally unnecessary. There would have been sufficient capacities in other pedagogical universities which are now to be transferred. At 1100 On 7 December in the Neubrandenburg Pedagogical University, we will conduct a discussion about this and will invite the complainants from Guestrow. I suggest to Minister of Education Professor Dr Emons that he sends an envoy from the ministry to this discussion.

B. We received a moving letter about the situation in the village of Wollentz, near Angermuende, where former minister Mielke had his country seat. While the living conditions of the villagers themselves were very poor, houses were not only built for the "Neckermann" workers but also the living space designated for the villagers was taken away from them. The citizens were under constant control and guard, they had to take responsibility for visitors, they are complaining about the years of isolation. The head of the Office for National Security should, in the event it has not yet happened, immediately see that the MfS [former Ministry of State Security] personnel and their families are withdrawn from Wollentz so that the living space released can be placed at the disposal of the citizens. [applause] Next week I intend to visit the village with one of my colleagues from the commission and to hold a discussion with the inhabitants.

Mr president, honored deputies. This report has not been easy for me. But together with all other commission members I feel under an obligation with the merciless exposing of the truth to make our contribution to a renewed human society in this country. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Gera Citizens Tour National Security Bunkers

LD0612152789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1456 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Gera (ADN)—Today, after several days of trying, citizens in the small community of Tautenhain in the GDR area [bezirk] of Gera gained access to secret underground bunkers belonging to the Office for National Security. In the presence of district [kreis] state lawyers and representatives of the office, they viewed the installations that contained, among other things, a complete, fully functioning intelligence central-control office and, in aboveground installations, extensive stores of intelligence and medical technology. The state prosecutor sealed the accesses.

Residents report that vehicles have been continually observed coming and going in the last few days. Ashes which were still glowing implied that papers had been destroyed. The citizens demanded an immediate halt to construction work still being carried out on the underground extension of the installation. A member of the office staff stated, however, that the building of the extension is to be hurried along in order that the installation may be used as a supply store for pharmaceutical technology for the area. Installations already available for this are in desperate shape and supplies for the hospitals could scarcely still be covered.

In reply to a telephone enquiry from ADN, however, area doctor Professor Johannes Gessner said he did not yet know anything about this.

New Forum Calls for Demonstration on 10 Dec

LD0612225789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2204 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—New Forum in Berlin has called for a demonstration in Berlin to mark Human Rights Day on Sunday, 10 December. It is to start at 1400 hours in front of the Pressecafe in Alexanderplatz and proceed to the Platz der Akademie. The appeal conveyed to ADN states:

We demand: 1. an official state protest against the human rights violations in Romania; 2. an obligation to testify on the part of all those responsible to clear up the attacks in October; 3. the disclosure of State Security practices in the past and present—who are the members of staff? Where do they work? What are they costing us? Where are the files and data about us stored? 5. immediate alternative military service; 6. the dissolution of the militia groups; 7. the legal endorsement of the right to strike; 8. the exposure of election fraud, the drafting of a new electoral law and early repetition of local elections; 9. the scrapping of state security.

New Forum Makes 'Interior Disarmament' Appeal

LD0612232389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1817 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"A state under the rule of law for all is our main aim! We want to guarantee the law which is to finally protect us! We want justice, not vengeance!" states an appeal circulated by a regional New Forum council this evening.

It describes citizens' control of state security as an important and major step toward democratization in society and demands the full dissolution of the state

security structures used domestically, as well as the scrapping of the clauses concerning political crimes.

"Under the control of an executive which has been jointly sworn in, the functions appropriate for tackling the actual threats from crime and neo-Nazi trends should be subordinate to the Interior Ministry," the appeal "Interior Disarmament Now" demands.

Appeal to Security Office

LD0612232489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2115 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The press spokesman for the Office for National Security (AFNS) announced today that a member of the national council of spokesmen for New Forum handed in the appeal "Internal Disarmament Now!" to the AFNS on the same day.

"The director of the office stated his readiness to name representatives to talk with representatives of the national council of New Forum spokesmen on the ideas presented on the work of the AFNS," it says in the announcement. This answer has been sent to the national council of New Forum spokesmen by AFNS representatives.

Public Figures Demand Total Disarmament

LD0612224889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1825 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Public figures from all sections of the population today in Berlin demanded total military disarmament of the GDR by the year 2000 as a unilateral concession. In an "Appeal of the 89" they call on all parties, groupings, and all peace-loving people of goodwill to support this in a referendum.

At an international press conference, writers Rosemarie Schuder and Rudolf Hirsch, theologian Prof Dr Heinrich Fink, the antifascist Kurt Julius Goldstein, and biologist Johannes Schoenher stressed that this initiative was in line with the further democratization of society in the GDR. It was a signal for worldwide total disarmement. [passage omitted]

Rostock Workers Withdraw Call for Strike

LD0612234689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1916 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Rostock (ADN)—Port workers at Rostock International Port have withdrawn their call for a warning strike, which had been decided over the weekend. They stated to journalists that their strike call had not been properly considered and had been written while they were agitated. [passage omitted]

Opinion Poll Finds Fear of Economic Problems

LD0712103589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0415 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the end of November, 92 percent of those asked in a representative poll feared that large economic problems would arise in the GDR. This was stated by Professor Dr Walter Friedrich, director of the central Institute for Youth Research, in an interview with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

The institute carried out the first opinion poll between 20 and 27 November; 1,500 persons over 15 were questioned, and in addition 1,200 students, 1,200 apprentices, and 1,200 pupils in the 10th class between 16 and 17 years old.

The fear that violence and aggression could increase in the GDR was greatest among students (55 percent). School pupils were, with 46 percent, above the average for the GDR (43 percent).

The question was also posed concerning a "unification of the GDR and FRG." According to the pollsters, 16 percent of the GDR population are very much in favor, 32 percent are more in favor than against, 29 percent are more against than in favor, and 23 percent are very much against.

Among GDR politicians, Hans Modrow enjoys "great trust" with 84 percent. Guenther Maleuda follows with 61 percent, Manfred Gerlach 52 percent, and Baerbel Bohley received 24 percent.

"If tomorrow free, democratic, secret elections to the People's Chamber were held," 87 percent would take part, 2 percent would not take part, and 11 percent are undecided.

Among the parties, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] would have been the largest force at the end of November with 31 percent in all, followed by the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] (23 percent), the New forum (17 percent), the CDU [Christian Democratics] (10 percent), the DBD [Democratic Peasants Party] (5 percent), and the NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] (3 percent). Eleven percent of votes were cast for new parties or new movements.

Prof Walter publishers in this connection data which allow conclusions to be drawn concerning the age structure and social position of the potential voters. Differentiations were made between 15- to 24-year-olds, those older than 64, and between apprentices and students. The result is that the SED has strong support among students (48 percent) and older people (39 percent). The LDPD would be chosen, above all, by 15- to 24-year-olds (23 percent) and apprentices (22 percent). New Forum is supported also, above all, by young people—apprentices 44 percent and 15- to 24-year-olds 25 percent. Among those over 64, the CDU (14 percent) and the DBD (5 percent) find support. The NDPD has no support among

all the named age groups: only 1 percent among the 15- to 24-year-olds and among those over 64 will vote for this party.

"The political awareness of the citizens of all social strata is characterized today by deep-reaching processes of change," stated Prof Friedrich in the interview. "In order to stay on the track of the processes of change, a repeat poll with identical questions and representative population is planned in coming weeks."

Gerlach Addresses 24 Nov LDPD Meeting

AU0512075689 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 27 Nov 89 p 3

["Slightly abridged version" of the opening address given by Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, at the party's central executive committee meeting in Berlin on 24 November]

[Excerpts] Our central executive committee meeting is very important. As is known, the sixth executive committee meeting was held on 14 June, before the turning point. And it made a decisive contribution to bringing about such a shift, which arose from the GDR people and with the power of the people.

Today we have to decide on the position of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] in the process of restructuring, in the far-reaching democratic renewal in our country, and on the tasks it has to face.

The GDR's crisis has not come to a halt yet. There are, above all, three factors for this critical situation:

First: There is still a great lack of trust in the political leadership of our country. This is related to the crisis of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], a crisis which, although not concluded, will hopefully at least be eased by the extraordinary party congress. Obviously, many people do not consider the SED leadership under Egon Krenz to be competent, and even many comrades themselves reject it. This can be explained by the errors and unfortunate path of action after the Honecker/Krenz change in leadership. I will say only a few key words: the bill on the travel law, the local elections on 7 May, the leading role of the SED. The situation is very fragile, the citizens' movements or new parties usually do not want to cooperate. Of course, one cannot generalize here, but they usually see themselves as control organs and very often they actually do not have efficient concepts. Therefore, our proposal, the proposal of a dialogue at the roundtable, is of extraordinary importance now.

One must also state that there is a clear radicalization of oppositional groups and groupings. This is partly the reaction to the hesitant attitude of the leadership around Egon Krenz and partly due to opponents of the reforms in the state organs and the SED apparatus. Something that had not been registered for a long time can now be clearly established: The first recognizable antisocialist positions have emerged.

And third: The political crisis is linked with the economic crisis. At the moment, there is nothing that can be called an economic strategy and that could be feasible politically.

Therefore, it is impossible to work out a 5-year plan now. There are no preconditions for this. One of the government's main tasks is to work out this economic policy concept. I think that this is actually the decisive question for the entire reform process, for the entire development of democratic renewal: How can the economy be reorganized and reformed without destroying social assets.

We are very concerned about the uncontrolled withdrawal of goods and enormous sums of money from the country. I think that we as a party should fully support and help to bear the recent resolutions of the government.

But we must also meet the export commitments to the USSR. Our imports of fuels such as crude oil, natural gas, and raw materials directly depend on this.

We also need the help of the West, both the FRG and the EC. This is urgently necessary. And we must master the political trick of having to rely on very broad support without becoming a protectorate, a federal state of the FRG. This cannot be; we will remain sovereign.

Common Denominator of Our Attitude

This assessment of our situation has determined and determines the attitude of our party leadership in general. Both in the People's Chamber, as well as at the coalition negotiations, the LDPD's position has been marked by this.

The common denominator for us must be: All strength for the democratic renewal in the interest of the people and to accomplish the topical tasks. We are in favor of a dialogue, an open popular discussion. But discussion alone does not change much. Now it is necessary, and we must insist on this, to lay down everywhere the results of this discussion, which is in the interest of the people, to ensure that changes take place and that the partners, all political and social forces, also assume a constructive attitude and work in a confidence-building way. Therefore, we resumed contacts with all newly developed movements and groupings like New Forum, "Democracy Now", "Democratic Awakening" [Demokratischer Aufbruch] and others.

Elections Are a Major Question

A few statements on the subject "The LDPD and Elections." For us, elections undoubtedly represent the key question of the reform process. The people call for elections, that is, representations according to their will, and this request will not be removed from the agenda before these real, free, equal, secret and controllable elections have not really been held, or at least a date for them has been fixed and the legal prerequisites have

been created. And these elections are a precondition for the parliamentarian democracy in socialism.

One cannot speak of a parliamentarian democracy if there are no real free elections. Therefore, this is the crucial question in shaping democracy in our country, and the parliamentarian democracy, based on free elections, is the basic precondition for preventing any abuse of power, as we have unfortunately experienced, not only now but several times in the history of our country and, going back further, also in the development of other socialist countries.

Our party leadership takes the view that elections should be held as early as possible, and on a solid basis. The electoral law must be based on the consensus of all political and social forces. It must come into force through a people's referendum. As far as is humanly possible, the electoral law must not contain any factors resulting in new conflicts. We have advocated and are advocating that elections from the community assemblies up to the People's Chamber be held on one single day.

We are against long terms of office. What does this mean in practice? We want a limitation to two legislative periods embodied in the law. This, of course, also requires the provision of social security to members of councils, mayors, and so on. For instance, if somebody has worked as a member of a council for 10 years and then leaves at the age of 60, he certainly cannot work as a teacher any more. In this connection serious consideration should be begun.

Parliamentary democracy and the administrative reform toward which we aim require new state machinery, but we certainly agree that one cannot dismiss the present apparatus of state immediately, because this would mean anarchy. One must rather see this as a process, but we must proceed from the fact that in the future, for instance, members without legal expertise, in particular in administrative law, would be unthinkable in the apparatus of state. This gives rise to questions of basic education and advanced education, also for us as a party. And there is also the question, should there not be socialist officials in the future?

There are no doubts that the electoral law is politically linked with the law on associations and parties, the law on media, guaranteeing free and equal access of all to all media, in particular to radio and television, which we as a party do not enjoy now either. Therefore, we insisted on laying down—and this has now been adopted—the fact that the television committee and the radio committee must be directly subordinated to the Council of Ministers, and no one, no party, must interfere. However, there must be a social council which includes all parties and which has a great influence on the development of the program, on cadre issues and so on. This also applies to the news agency.

The amendments to the Constitution are closely linked with the electoral law. I want to make it clear once more that it is not just Article 1, but also a number of others that require thorough consideration in connection with amendments to the Constitution.

Our attitude in the People's Chamber, in particular the statement of our parliamentary group on the government declaration, resulted in the reproach from both the People's Chamber and then the public that the LDPD has already started the election campaign, and others said: We did not!—but only after they had earlier eagerly engaged in election campaigns in their papers. Of course, it is clear that as soon as it is certain that free elections will be held, one must seriously and responsibly think about the future of the country.

In any case, we are preparing for the elections to the People's Chamber and other elections. And thus we have to immediately think about how we will address the people, what our programmatic ideas and demands will be in order to achieve approval and put something in motion in this spirit. Therefore, I believe that the party has to face the question of whether it is or can become a party for which the citizens will vote. Therefore, we will develop into a new party rooted in the traditions to which our party is committed, into a party with many years of experience. And I think, and I want to clearly state this here in order to avoid misunderstandings, that we must develop into a liberal and democratic people's party of the GDR, and on a very comprehensive basis.

No Bloc Parties in the Previous Meaning

A few remarks on the party's conception of itself and the role of the LDPD. I think we are a coalition partner of the other four parties. There are five equal parties. And as regards the SED, I will not use the term primus inter pares, first among equals, any more, but I would say that, though they are different in terms of strength, all five are equal. In my view, five equal parties in this coalition means that there are also controversial opinions, that there must be discussions. We are in a bloc, in an alliance; if you do not want to use the term "bloc" any more, but on no account bloc parties in the previous meaning. For an alliance is also capable of change, or it might be necessary to change it. Now we are in the alliance of the coalition, but we are also in the alliance of the parties and organizations, previously called the "Democratic Bloc," thus we are not in favor of separating but of staying together, as otherwise we could not support a dialogue at the roundtable. This is a more far-reaching alliance regarding a certain question on which there can be agreement, but there will be other issues on which there will be no agreement at all at the roundtable. And this is how it should be in a bloc—that there are questions on which agreement is not possible.

Concern About the Countrywide Basis of Our Decision

Of course, the formula of the "friendly parties of the SED" no longer applies. This is not only an outdated term, but also a condition outdated by the social reality. As has been said, the basis of our decision was the

concern for the country. We have the freedom to leave the coalition. We have the freedom to start initiatives in the People's Chamber and in all people's representative bodies and to change our voting from decision to decision. This depends on the observance of the coalition agreements by the partners. And we want to and will be reliable. Our attitude is based on the fundamental principles of the Constitution, which must be observed in any case, and on the government's determination and success, in particular regarding the radial reforms announced in the government declaration, to which we have submitted many proposals.

The resolutions of the forthcoming SED Congress and the resolutions of other parties will be very important. It is also important to force back those who want to prevent and delay the renewal at all levels, and it is important to maintain our scope for action as a coalition partner in practice.

Our party must rapidly increase its competence and develop its characteristic features and influence through initiatives and proper work aiming at (a) vitalizing the government declaration at short notice and simultaneously mastering the situation everywhere in the country, and (b) at turning socialism into the pluralist, democratic, new socialism which we want to achieve and which is also our socialism.

Democratic Renewal of the Party Itself

The platform for this is and will be the principles of liberal democratic policy today, which have been put up for discussion by the Political Committee. Working them out and implementing them must go hand in hand with working out our party's program.

But there is also the task of the democratic renewal of the party itself, of intraparty life, the structure and work of the executive committees. The party's work must be turned inside out, so to speak. Regarding intraparty democracy, we all have to learn quite a lot—go through a process of cognition. We cannot call for democracy in the country, in society, if we do not carry out a thorough internal democratization in our own party. In this connection, the internal cohesion of our party is decisive. [passage omitted]

The important aspects of a liberal democratic policy which must be a real concern to us are ideological openness and political tolerance, and moral-ethical foundations for political action and targets. For politics is very closely connected with conscience.

Here we should concentrate on liberal democratic requirements, traditions, and commitments. This includes the critical approach to history, which is also the history of liberal democratic omissions, the history of mistakes and of a lack of the courage of one's convictions. Reviewing the development of our country, one must say that the LDPD is both a victim and a culprit. As concerns the eighties, we also failed, as we did not—or if we did, it was only in a very encoded way—turn to the public with our knowledge of developments, with our accurate assessment of the situation—here I refer to information reports and assessments from the associations and basic units—with our criticism of the handling of power in general and the alliance policy in particular. Let me stress, as an example, that the Political Committee committed itself to Gorbachev 1 day after the 27th CPSU Congress. And many party representatives followed this example. But this could not be clearly recognized by the public, and therefore it did not have the desired effects. [passage omitted]

3 Statements on the Nature and the Basic Concerns

In conclusion, let me mention three points regarding the nature and the basic concerns of our policy in these weeks of restructuring:

First: We will subordinate everything to the democratic renewal of our country. Thus, in a contemporary way we have again arrived at Wilhelm Kuelz, who in 1945 adjusted the party's policy to the requirements of an antifascist, democratic renewal.

Second: We are acting as a party among other parties, solely committed to the will of the people and called upon to serve the interests of the members and all citizens who are in affinity with us.

Third: We are in favor of a European house in which both German states have their place and will not impede a democratic solution to the national questions, which are acceptable to everyone in Europe.

Police Officer Notes Signs of Neo-Nazism

AU0412093089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25-26 Nov 89 p 9

[Interview with Colonel Wolfgang Pauleit of the Main Department for Criminal Investigations of the Interior Ministry by Dieter Wolf, date and place not given: "Are the Neo-Nazis Now Coming to Us?"]

[Excerpt] [Wolf] The borders have been opened. An enormous stream of visitors is moving toward the FRG. But traffic is also increasing into our direction. Comrade colonel, will skinheads and other neo-fascist activists with evil intentions visit us now? Are like-minded people in our country feeling a fresh breeze? Will young musclemen in leather jackets stand at our street corners, do we have to expect militant neo-fascist acts which are directed against our property, even against the lives of our citizens?

[Pauleit] At present, I cannot give an unambiguous and clear answer to the question of whether neo-Nazis in leather jackets with fascist decorations on them will turn up in the future, or whether we have to expect militant neo-fascist "actions." But I would like to say that in the past our state consistently combated expressions and acts of a fascist and racist character. The basis for this lies in the GDR Constitution and other laws. We owe this to the antifascist legacy.

Of course, a changed situation, which we have to take into account, has developed as a result of the new travel regulations for GDR citizens. We have already seen "samples" of our own neo-Nazism. For instance, the attack on the Zion Church by skinheads. You remember: Young people in laced-up boots and paratroop trousers with close-cropped or precisely parted hair beat up punks.

[Wolf] Let us talk about neo-Nazism in the GDR. Exactly 2 years ago, a commisioned ADN report was published in which neofascist trends in the GDR were categorically denied.

[Pauleit] First of all, one preliminary remark. We did not commission such a report. I am speaking on behalf of the criminal investigation department. We are active primarily as a result of reports, events, etc., carry out the respective investigations and, if it is justified, we convey the criminals to the courts within the framework of the laws, or we suggest the enforcement of other sanctions such as administrative finds or educational influence.

[Wolf] W! at do the statistics say?

[Pauleit] From our viewpoint, the figures went down, until the opening of the borders. During the fourth quarter there have so far been four investigations, with nine accused—compared with the first quarter, with 29 investigations and 63 accused. You can see that from the beginning of 1988 onwards the figures remained roughly the same. Neo-Nazi crimes constitute far less than 1 percent of the crimes in the GDR.

[Wolf] There is the suspicion that after various events involving punishment under criminal law the skinheads have gone "underground." This means that they are intentionally under cover, in a new phase of organization. Father Rudi Pahnke of the Federation of Evangelical Churches, for instance, a man who is dealing with provocations and violent activities of a neo-fascist kind by young people, suspects that their hair will be permitted to grow and the laced-up boots and leather jackets will be left at home.

[Pauleit] In general, I do not want to deny the trend toward going under cover. However, there is no evidence that there is a neo-fascist "headquarters" in the GDR and that this has ordered something like this. The few skinheads in our country, that is, those the police know, naturally know each other in the respective regions and certainly also exchange their experiences across regional borders. In very few cases, links with skinheads in Berlin (West) have been discovered.

[Wolf] If there is no "headquarters" in the GDR, is there one in the FRG? Transborder, so to speak?

[Pauleit] You have to ask the criminal investigation department in the FRG, in West Berlin. We can only make assumptions in this respect.

[Wolf] As of now there is a "red telephone" for contacts between our police headquarters in Alexanderp! tz and the police authorities in West Berlin, would you also be ready for transborder cooperation in this respect?

[Pauleit] In my view, the criminal investigations department is ready for cooperation in principle. In view of the open borders, this would even be extremely desirable. [passage omitted]

Draft on Statute for National Democratic Youth

AU0412183889 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 25-26 Nov 89 p 3

["Discussion Draft for a Statute of the GDR National Democratic Youth"]

[Text] Article 1

The National Democratic Youth [NDJ] is a politically non-affiliated, independent, democratic youth association of the GDR close to the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD].

Article 2

The NDJ is a youth association open to all young people of the GDR, the aim of which is to spread national democratic ideas, a German national consciousness, on an antifascist-humanist basis as well as on a new environmental consciousness regarding the native country.

Article 3

The NDJ is not committed to ideological positions. It is open to all ideologies as described in Article 2.

Article 4

Any GDR citizen from the age of 14 to the age of 30 may become a member of the NDJ.

Article 5

NDJ members may join the NDPD but do not have to.

Article 6

The NDJ is organized according to the regional principle. The smallest unit is the town association or city district association. Then there are the kreis associations and the laender associations (at present bezirk associations). The supreme organ of the NDJ is the National Executive Committee, which includes all laender associations.

Article 7

In the secretariats of the NDPD city district, kreis, and laender executive committees and the main committee of the NDPD consultation offices will be created for the NDJ, at which NDJ members will work.

—The financing form of the NDJ will be consulted and adopted at a constitutent founding congress on a republic-wide level.

—The final version of the NDJ statute will also be adopted at this congress.

—Until the constitution of this congress, this paper will serve as a discussion draft for the NDJ's statute.

[Signed] The members of the initiative group for founding a GDR national democratic youth association

'Democracy Now' Movement Activist on Reforms

AU2811131389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Nov 89 p 6

[Report on interview with Michael Bartoszek, a leading member of the Democracy Now movement, by Janusz Jaros; date and place not given: "Democracy Now"]

[Text] Democracy Now (Demokratie Jetzt) is—with the New Forum and the Democratic Awakening (Demokratische Aufbruch)—one of the most popular opposition movements in the GDR. Michael Bartoszek is 40 years old. He is a chemist by qualification, and a poet by inclination. His poetry has appeared in several anthologies.

[Jaros] Democracy Now has a short history, because it was only formed at the beginning of October....

[Bartoszek] Democracy Now has a longer history. The founders of Democracy Now have been working with one another for over 2 years now. We began activity as a political discussion club debating the problems of contacts between the GDR and the West and East.

We put forward many initiatives and demanded that barriers—both material and spiritual—between the East and West, be abolished. "Material barriers" —meaning lack of freedom to travel; and "spiritual barriers"—meaning the cultural barriers dividing East from West.

It is correct to say that we began broader public activity this October when we organized a collection of signatures calling for a referendum to be held to abolish the clause in our Constitution on the leading role of the Communist Party. We do not know how many people signed our petition. However, I can say that our initiative met with a good deal of support from all sections of society.

[Jaros] And you succeeded. The GDR parliament has called a commission to change the Constitution—and abolish the clause on the leading role of the party. It is also considering changes to the electoral law.

[Bartoszek] This is a misunderstanding. This information was given by Western press agencies who were seeking a journalistic scoop. During the 18 November sitting of the People's Chamber, the project to call such a commission was in fact rejected, although such a project had been put forward by representatives of the coalition parties. The leaders of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany did not officially declare their readiness to abandon the principle of the leading role of the party, or to hold free elections.

We now have to wait for the party rank and file to have its say during the elections of the delegates to the December extraordinary party congress. When we know the official position of the party in these matters, then perhaps we can begin the "roundtable" talks.

[Jaros] Cooperation between the opposition groups looks like it is difficult. The New Forum movement does not reject the principle of the leading role of the party.

[Bartoszek] We are currently working together, and any difference in views will be brought out into the open during the discussions on a joint electoral platform for the opposition, which will precede the "roundtable" talks with the Communist authorities.

[Jaros] Are you a party, or a social movement?

[Bartoszek] Democracy Now considers itself a citizens' movement. We are not striving to gain political party status, we want to secure the fundamental forms of democracy from below, and to enable our citizens to conduct effective political activity. The citizens committees of "Solidarity" are our model.

[Jaros] What do you think of Premier Modrow's program?

[Bartoszek] Premier Modrow's government has begun to formulate open politics which will advance the process of reforms. He would like to limit the extent of influence exercised by the Central Committee and the Politburo. The question of free elections has not yet been touched upon.

[Jaros] Do you want to see elections held as soon as possible?

[Bartoszek] This would be to our disadvantage. The opposition has no access to television, radio, or the press. The cardinal principle of free elections is a free and open presentation of views by all political parties.

[Jaros] How do you see the issue of German unification?

[Bartoszek] It is important that the democratization of life in the GDR is accompanied by a search for self-identity, both political and economic. We do not want to copy the economic model of the FRG. After free elections and when the decision-making power rests in society's hands we shall then begin contemplating our relationship with the FRG.

It is very important that we also rethink our relationship with our Polish neighbor. One cannot touch upon the German issue without paying due regard to the question of the Polish-German relationship. Our boundary is presently not being questioned by any grouping in the GDR. All opposition groups in the GDR can only

conceive of a Germany—regardless of its political shape—with its boundary on the Odra-Nysa Rivers.

SED's Rauchfuss Views Economic Reform

AU2311175089 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 23 Nov 89 p 32

[Report on interview with Wolfgang Rauchfuss, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary for economy, by Gerd Zitzelsberger; in East Berlin on 22 November: "GDR Must Participate More Vigorously in International Division of Labor"]

[Text] East Berlin, 22 November—The rigorously controlled economy, which the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] practiced in the GDR for decades, has left a great mess. In the GDR, the blame for this is now generally put on Guenter Mittag and his staff in the party; until the "changes" took place, Mittag was a member of the SED Politburo and the responsible secretary in the SED Central Committee—in fact he was the supreme authority of the GDR economy. He was succeeded in both functions by 58-year-old Wolfgang Rauchfuss, who has been a member of the SED Central Committee for more than 2 decades, and who was minister for material management until the government reshuffle 1 week ago. Up to now, Rauchfuss has kept a very low profile toward the outside. In one of his first interviews since the "changes" in the GDR, he outlined the important basic concepts of his party on the future economic course. The party congress, which was scheduled for mid-December, and which was convened under the pressure of "grass-roots" level of the party, might even put greater emphasis on certain reform ideas in the sphere of economic policy. Gerd Zitzelsberger conducted the interview with Wolfgang Rauchfuss.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: The SED's new economic model is a "planned economy guided by the conditions of the market economy." What does this mean for the GDR industry?

Rauchfuss: The new question is how the advantages of central state planning can be brought into harmony with the stimulating effects of the market. Guided by the conditions of the market economy means above all to produce flexibly and in accordance with the needs of the people, the economy, and an efficient export sector. For this purpose central planning and balancing must provide room for the enterprises's own decisions and responsibility and at the same time guarantee balanced proportions of the national economy and equilibrated balance sheets.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: To what extent are the enterprises or combines to be given greater independence, for example regarding the fixing of prices, investments, or their ranges of products?

Rauchfuss: The crucial point will be self-financing. Related to this are greater independence for investments and a range of products that responds to the needs of the market. As far as prices are concerned, the state will not simply entirely lift the control on the developments in the foreseeable future. A well-balanced ratio between supply and demand will be necessary for more freedom for the fixing of prices.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: Is the SED considering changing the system of uniting enterprises to combines?

Rauchfuss: The combines have proved their worth as great socialist economic units particularly in those branches that, even on the international scale, are characterized by high concentration and centralization of forces and financial means. However, in the past, criteria such as efficiency and flexibility have been disregarded by a stereotyped approach as far as the integration of smaller enterprises and the creation of bezirk-administered combines are concerned. It will be the government's task to correct excesses.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: The GDR is considering the possibility of joint East-West enterprises, so-called joint ventures. Do you regard this as a viable way of reforming the economy?

Rauchfuss: The economy of the GDR can only succeed if it gets more involved in the international division of labor. In this connection we do not exclude new forms of cooperation. This includes joint ventures, leasing, and other internationally common forms that correspond to the principle of mutual economic advantages. I am sure that we will soon find solutions that are acceptable for both sides, and that we will receive interesting offers. Such new forms of cooperation involve of course also the elimination of existing embargo practices.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: How will the GDR try to better match the financial means and the real situation?

Rauchfuss: In this connection it is of primary importance to increase the efficiency of our economy. On this basis balanced proportions of the national economy and equilibrated balance sheets will become a solid element of our economic concept. This is the only way to assure that we do not distribute more than we can actually produce and earn. This applies both to the reliable supply of material and products to the production sector, and a well-balanced ratio between the available money and available goods.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: According to various remarks recently made in the People's Chamber there is a considerable need to modernize the GDR economy. Will the people have to tighten their belts?

Rauchfuss: It is true that many enterprises and institutions were not sufficiently maintained and modernized over a long period. All our plans for the future must be based on the economic possibilities of our country. We now have to find compromise solutions between

increasing the rate of accumulation, the further preservation and step-by-step improvement of the standard of living, and the indispensable export surplus. In this connection our freedom of movement will be determined by whether we manage to increase our performance and the efficiency of our economy. This requires profound structural changes in the national economy.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: The subsidy policy has obviously become a problem. What changes are you considering, and will there be adjustments in the form of higher pensions and children benefits?

Rauchfuss: The SED advocates that all those elements be removed from our subsidy policy that are inconsistent with the socialist performance principle, and that lead to waste and speculation. Particularly now that the borders are open, it becomes more and more obvious that the differentiated use of subsidies is increasingly necessary for the protection and the stability of our currency. Lower subsidies must be linked with compensatory measures for the citizens. In this connection, I am particularly thinking of households with below-average incomes and of certain strata of the population that are especially affected.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: What support do you think Bonn will provide for the policy of reform, and what should the FRG economy contribute?

Rauchfuss: What I said concerning cooperation with Western firms and enterprises applies, of course, also to the FRG economy. Moreover, we are interested in closer mutually beneficial economic cooperation for several large projects, such as in the energy sector, the chemical sector, or in the field of environmental protection.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: How will the tasks in the sphere of economic policy be distributed in the future between the SED Politburo and the GDR Government?

Rauchfuss: We are in favor of disentangling party and state. There will no longer be administrative interventions in state and economic affairs. The government will only be answerable to the People's Chamber in all questions, including economic ones. Thus, the economic-political activities of the party will mainly be directed at our group in the people's representative bodies.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: How is the SED going to prevent economic developments, like those of the past years, being repeated?

Rauchfuss: The economic reform, which we must initiate, will be accompanied by the reform of the political system of the GDR. This is intended to create the conditions that make it impossible that wrong social decision will be repeated. The people's representative bodies' unrestricted safeguarding of rights and duties as sovereign bodies of power is the central issue. With the necessary process of renewal of our party, we want to create all necessary guarantees to ensure a democratic formation of will and of opinions. This includes the rendering of accounts and control, the possibility to understand decision-making processes, and sufficient publicity of the party life. A future limit to the time for which one can hold elective posts must also be seen under this aspect.

SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG: Do you think that one day people will get sacked in the GDR, and what is your opinion on the right to strike?

Rauchfuss: Full employment is a social achievement of socialism in the GDR, of which we are legitimately proud. Our economy will need every single worker in the future as well. We will not question this even when we have to initiate the necessary structural changes in our national economy. As far as the right to strike is concerned, the public discussion has so far provided a clear answer. Despite the plurality of opinions, there has been agreement that the initiated renewal can advance only on the basis of continual, serious work. We do not know any socialist country where strikes improved the economic and social situation. The Free German Trade Union Federation discusses legal regulations for settling labor conflicts. In the interest of stable conditions and a good working climate in the enterprises, I think that the trade unions and the government ought to work out reasonable regulations.

Antifascists' Statement on Stalinism, Neo-Nazism

AU2811171389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "With Our Experiences for the Process of Renewal"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [20 November] the Presidium of the Central Directorate of the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters addressed the public with the statement "Our Antifascist Standpoint":

Obligated by our comrades who were killed in the struggle against fascism by fascism's terror and obligated by the oath of the liberated antifascists to build a world of peace and freedom, we are speaking up. We support with all our strength the revolutionary process of renewal, which has been introduced in the GDR, and which is reflected in the latest decisions of the People's Chamber and in the statement of Modrow's coalition government. We are determined to give our best, together with the people who have brought about this change through peaceful demonstrations and expressions of their will, in order to serve the restructuring with our experiences. For this we need the same dedication as in 1945 when, after the destruction of Hitler's regime by the peoples of the Soviet Union and their allies, millions of workers, peasants, and members of all strata removed the ruins in order to build a better society. We can build on what has been achieved through the industriousness of the working people over the 40 years of the GDR's existence and on antifascist bases.

The deep crisis that our country has found itself in was caused by faulty, undemocratic decisions, the failure to overcome the consequences of Stalinism, arbitrariness, and abuse of power in many fields. It is particularly hurtful to us that several antifascist resistance fighters are largely responsible for this. We also feel responsible because we did not point out in time or with sufficient determination the problems that had accumulated, as it would have been our political and moral duty to do.

We express our profound respect to all antifascists, wherever persecuted, tormented or murdered under Stalin's rule. We call for their complete and public rehabilitation. The same goes for all comrades who were humiliated, unjustly treated, and imprisoned in our country.

Antifascism equals the dignity of man, democracy, and freedom. Therefore, we are deeply shocked and are categorically against the police's humiliating and mistreating citizens who were arrested at demonstrations. Based on our ideals, we call for the strict punishment of those responsible for these violations of citizens' and human rights. At the same time, we express our sympathy with those members of the protective and security organs who were injured by people committing acts of violence. We stand at the side of those who fulfill their legal duty to protect the citizens and the country.

In many countries of Europe, in particular in the FRG, the inhumane, peace-endangering neo-Nazism with its ideologies of racism, anti-Semitism, and hatred of foreigners is raising its head again. Here, in the GDR, too, it is trying to gain a foothold. We feel obliged to prevent this with all our strength. In this we know ourselves to be at one with all antifascist citizens of our country and with our comrades of the resistance against fascism and war in all countries.

We want an alliance with all people in the antifascist consensus, in particular with the youth. On new paths and with new structures, we want to strengthen the front for defending the achievements of the socialist GDR.

State Bank President on Economic Reform

AU2911112389 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 21 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by GDR State Bank President Horst Kaminsky: "A Stable Currency—Basis for Reform"]

[Text] The redetermination of money's role in our planned economy is a centerpiece of the economic reform aiming at efficient economic management meeting the demands and the implementation of the principle of performance in all of its social aspects. What are the basic directions, from the banks' point of view?

1. Economic reform must be based on the stability of our currency, because to a considerable extent it determines the readiness for the economy and the people to perform, as well as the confidence in the productive power of our economy. For this purpose monetary policy must be given a higher priority in the economic policy.

Security of Savings Deposits Is Guaranteed

Guaranteeing the protection of our currency and restoring material and financial equilibrium are the most important issues at present. The potential of our economy guarantees the value of our savings deposits and the circulation of money. The state will also guarantee the security of the people's savings deposits in the future. It must be stated as a principle: The amount of money and credit of our national economy is fully covered from a material point of view. There is a great potential, much greater than the amount of money that we have, behind it—the current assets of the enterprises in the form of stocks of material and goods, the basic assets, and the housing stock. However, disproportions and not enough effectiveness have resulted in structural problems. It is necessary to overcome disproportions that have developed between the available commodities and the available money in connection with implementing a consumer goods program to make up arrears in the supply of modern goods and the supply of modern services.

An efficient planned economy meeting the demands of the market—which particularly concentrates on national economic proportions and the fundamental framework of the work of the combines and enterprises—requires that the money issued corresponds in the plan with the money needed when considering the material conditions of its implementation.

All of the experiences of a performance-oriented economy illustrate that the material and financial equilibrium of a national economy is one of the basic issues for the political and economic leadership.

Money and financial means in the national economic balance sheet reveal the following: on the one hand, what our economy must do, and on the other hand, what we can afford to do in real terms, even if this truth is embarrassing.

A Credit of M55 Billion for the Housing Sector

2. In our banks we have a considerable social credit fund. About M150 billion of current assets credits for the domestic economy are contrasted with M230 billion of supplies, and about M60 billion basic assets credits are contrasted with M570 billion of basic assets at the net value in this sector.

About M55 billion for credits for the comprehensive housing sector and about M30 billion in credits for the cooperative housing sector are fully covered by the state and cooperative housing stock.

All efforts are to be aimed at ensuring that the banks' credits accelerate a growth in economic output and efficiency.

At present, the banks are concentrating on stabilizing and promoting consumer goods production and implementing an export offensive. In the future, the banks will be solely responsible for deciding on credits in accordance with the yardsticks for efficienly guaranteeing the repayment of the credits, including the interest from the growth in output and efficiency under the conditions of comprehensive self-financing. Interest rates are to depend on the economic requirements.

This step is only possible by continuing the presently still-limited self-financing as a necessary strategic concept of modern economic management. This also includes a fundamental expansion of the combines' and enterprises' scope for action and decision-making in the field of financing to ensure that money will become more effective in its basic function as a universal equivalent.

We need a financial economy that is oriented on a relatively long-term basis, exceeds the formal limits of a yearly plan, and also opens the way for strategic work in the field of economy and finance, as well as credit.

At the same time—and this is the dialectical character of this process—there must be more room for great flexibility in the financial economy.

This presupposes the liberation of planning from the many centrally assigned targets and regulations, as well as the real economic sole responsibility of the combines and enterprises for commercial and efficient dealings with financial means.

It is inevitable that the combines and enterprises must face the difficulties of the world market even more consistently in the economic sector, too. We cannot afford our own homemade performance yardsticks concerning input and output. This calls for rethinking the foreign exchange economy and the demands on the work of the banks in this sector, and for developing viewpoints on new forms of foreign economic activities.

More Publicity Regarding Financial Means

The strategic work in this field includes the measures resulting in a convertibility of the GDR mark. The article by Professor Dubrowsky outlines interesting aspects of this subject. These questions must be examined on the basis of a long-term concept with the necessary preconditions and steps. Strengthening the role of money also calls for redetermining the mark's control. Such an economic control as an instrument of the enterprises, combines, and also the banks is indispensable for efficient economic management.

However, economic control must be literated from the excessive administration and petty tutelage. It must respect the combines' and enterprises' sole responsibility and must be linked with banks' economic advice to the combines and enterprises.

This process also calls for more publicity regarding financial means, the circulation of money, and the work of the banks and, in this sense, also for society's control over its banks.

3. The role and responsibility of the banks will be essentially increased with the economic reform.

Conditions must be created to ensure that the State Bank as an issuing bank will fully meet its responsibility for the stability of the circulation of money, and to ensure its influence on our currency. This includes accepting the bank's viewpoint on national economic targets and results.

This also includes the bank's participation in preparing decisions on national economic structures, as well as the pertinent calculations of efficiency and ways of financing.

At the same time, the economic partnership relations between the bank and the combines and enterprises must be put on a basis in which questions of efficiency and meeting the demand in the domestic and foreign markets are the main issues. Our specialized industry bank branches will have to stand the test as partners of the combines, in particular for economic strategic tasks and thus for future-oriented financial-political work.

It is planned to create a scientific advisory council at the State Bank in order to comprehensively include science in this work. Strengthening the role of an efficient and modern banking system must be part of the economic reform.

FRG's Brandt Addresses Thousands in Rostock

LD0612191989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1739 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—Willy Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International, addressed thousands of residents in Rostock's St Mary's Church this afternoon.

The honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany recalled the things the two German states had in common, which included the joint obligation to peace that was laid upon them.

He could not imagine reunification, rather something new had to be created, with mutual respect for one another, the speaker said. In his opinion, the partnership based on treaties mentioned by GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow was, so far as its starting point was concerned, not very far from what was called a German federation in the FRG.

Further on Speech

LD0612214489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1929 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—The chairman of the Socialist International and honorary chairman of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany], Willy Brandt, has

recalled that one of the things in common between the two German states is the obligation of peace jointly laid upon them. At St. Mary's Church in Rostock today he appealed to thousands of residents of the port city for unbroken determination, which had to be paired with calm, because seldom had something new and good arisen from chaos.

Brandt said that he was very happy that representatives of the authorities on both sides had now agreed to new rules on travel, which would also allow people in his country to come to the other German state without a visa from next year. He regarded it as a starting point, if very modest, for a future currency union, for GDR citizens no longer being dependent on crumbs from the rich man's table when they come to the FRG but changing their own currency and being able to afford something. They had worked for it at least as hard as someone in West Germany.

Referring to possible reunification, Willy Brandt said that the Germans would now draw together, without anyone being able to say under what kind of roof they were. He knew that nations can have a very long memory: "Only, I also know that national guilt will not be wiped out by the arbitrary division of a nation: I can envision being in a new type of German nation."

Common sense dictates that this should take time. In his view, the treaty-based community referred to by Dr Hans Modrow was not so far off what was called German Union in the FRG. "I have difficulty, however, in imagining reunification. Nothing will ever be the way it was," the speaker said amid prolonged applause.

Rather, it is important to create something new in mutual respect, and the German West must not act as guardian.

The politician said that in the next few years there would be a multitude of fields for practical cooperation, and if he was assessing the situation in the Federal Republic in any way correctly, there was the readiness to give support and to assist self-help. Over and beyond practical affairs, there would be, in his opinion, an intense rapprochement in the legal regard and with regard to the state based on the rule of law. In this connection, the speaker mentioned a government union, trade unions coming together, the dismantling of differences, and an economic coming together without exploitation of the GDR.

With references to current events in the GDR, Willy Brandt stressed: "As much as I am of the opinion that lawbreakers should be brought before the courts, I feel little sympathy for the hunt for scapegoats if they come from the circle of those who bore responsibility hitherto."

At the conclusion of his speech that lasted about 1 hour, the guest said that it was a matter, above all, of playing a good German role in the European peace order so that war could never again happen, so that disarmament would take place in West and East, and so that people of this old and lively continent would live together with those in the entire world.

Antireunification Rally Planned in West Berlin

LD0612144589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1319 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Students of Berlin's Humboldt University, members of an "Antireunification Initiative" are calling on all opponents of reunification in the two German states to take part in a demonstration at 1300 on Saturday on the Adenauerplatz in Berlin (West).

"We want in this way to express our assent to the appeal 'For our country'," says the demonstration appeal, which has been distributed in both parts of Berlin since Wednesday. [passage omitted]

More Than 230,000 Sign Appeal for Nation

LD0612233189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1942 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN) Since its publication on 26 November, the appeal "For our Country," which calls for the preservation of the GDR's sovereignty, has been signed by 234,826 citizens as of this afternoon. [passage omitted]

Intershop Official Discusses Future of Shops

AU3011122089 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 23 Nov 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Klaus-Peter Thiel, deputy director general in change of retail trade of the Forum Trading Company Ltd, by Ute Thuerling; date and place not given—"What About the Future of the Intershops?"]

[Text] For nearly 2 weeks now, practically any GDR citizen has been able to visit foreign Western countries according to the new travel regulations. This has far-reaching consequences for our country's economy and direct effects on the Intershops, which have always been an issue of heated discussions in our country. We interviewed Klaus-Peter Thiel, deputy director general in charge of retail trade of the Forum Trading Company Ltd, on this subject, asking questions we were interested in and questions coming up in readers' letters.

NATIONAL-ZEITUNG: How is Intershop retail trade affected by the new travel regulations; in particular, how is the situation in Berlin?

Thiel: We have a completely new competition which we have to face and which we also want to face. Regarding the question, whether Intershop trade is still necessary, we can definitely answer: Yes. Here we proceed from the fact that our country cannot dispense with the Intershops now, as foreign currency is needed more than ever before. Our profits have reached proportions that can certainly be compared with the export results in other

branches of the national economy, thus it could not at all be replaced. By the way, against all expectations, our receipts did not decrease in the past two weeks; on the contrary. From an economic viewpoint, Intershop trade has not become outdated and the foreign exchange receipts have not become outdated and the foreign exchange receipts have not become superfluous either. This is how we economic experts see it. However, it would be desirable, if our new government also took a clear position on that to avoid any speculations.

Competitive Due to Adjusted Prices

NATIONAL-ZEITUNG: What will you do to become competitive?

Thiel: Regarding the prices, we reacted promptly. Early last week, we decreased the prices for important goods—for instance, soap and coffee. And where this has not been done yet, we will adjust our prices to the level of the international markets, in particular of West Berlin and the FRG, at short notice. But on the other hand, people are wrong when they think that in the West everything is cheaper anyway. For instance, in the field of technology, the Intershops have had very attractive prices for a year now. In addition, in our shops customers can usually call upon services for GDR Marks.

If in the near future it turns out that we cannot sell certain goods any more, we will have to remove them from our assortment. In our efforts to get more competitive chocolate products, which are sometimes sold in Western countries at absolutely low prices to attract customers, there is a big problem. And regarding shopping conditions, in particular friendliness and service, we must not lag behind the international standards anymore.

NATIONAL-ZEITUNG: Will the low prices not mean a business at loss for the state?

Thiel: In no way. Unfortunately there is still the view: Here they use foreign exchange which is needed in the domestic trade and which is only available to those who can shop in the Intershop—but this is not the case. We get the means to purchase all our goods through self-financing and the profit goes to the Ministry for Foreign Trade. And this profit will now decrease in accordance with the price reductions.

NATIONAL-ZEITUNG: The fact that the Intershop also stocks goods produced in the GDR has again and again been criticized. What kind of goods are these?

Thiel: Here also the suspicions are much bigger than the reality. We only trade in such articles that are readily available on the domestic market, for instance certain alcoholic beverages and pantyhoses. For Western tourists, we stock glass and crystal products that we buy for our shops from the export procurement of our producers. All this is not even 1 percent of our overall turnover and of this 1 percent, alcoholic beverages constitute nearly 90 percent.

Unfortunately, again and again I get letters, petitions, and calls from citizens who allegedly know that the tiles sold in the Intershop are from Boizenburg, and the tongued and grooved boards and many other products are from GDR enterprises. I can only stress once again that we import all these things and, by the way, also all accessories for private cars. For instance, some time ago our shops had hubcaps with the labeling "Wartburg." West Berlin salesman offered us these articles, because they had sold them succesfully to visitors from socialist countries. And, as we did not want the black market to make the deal, we included these hubcaps in our range of goods. But this resulted in many incorrect suspicions and discussions among the people, and we therefore withdrew them from our stocks.

Purpose of Forum Checks Surpassed

NATIONAL-ZEITUNG: Under the new travel regulations, every citizen in our country has the opportunity to buy foreign currency. Is the troublesome exchange into Forum checks still necessary in view of this situation?

Thiel: This check that we introduced a few years ago was to prevent a second currency on our domestic market. For this reason our enterprise was able to dispose of foreign exchange more quickly. Then this was quite a profitable solution. But I think that now the purpose of the Forum checks is outdated, there is no reason for their existence anymore. However, people need not be afraid of being left holding their checks. They are still valid. Branch offices of the State Bank will also change Forum checks into foreign exchange, if desired.

NATIONAL-ZEITUNG: Although it is not really part of our subject, it would still be highly interesting for our readers if you could tell us something about the suspicion that the Intershop staff receive a certain amount of their monthly salary in Deutsche marks. Does this not result in unjustified advantages?

Thiel: It is not correct that we pay part of the salary in Deutsche marks. The members of our staff who deal with the goods every day get a monthly shopping permit of M30 in the form of Forum checks per month, for which they have to pay 30 GDR marks. This shopping permit is to be used only in our shops and can be compared to an allowance in kind, as granted in other sectors of the national economy.

This monthly exchange depends on the individual's performance. It cannot be claimed, and is only granted if certain conditions have been fulfilled, such as observing cost and inventory norm targets, and if there are no other complaints against this staff member. As an incentive for good work this regulation is more efficient than orders and appeals. And, as can be proved, we have thus succeeded in increasing the efficiency of trade and considerably cutting expenses and losses. The achieved profits and savings by far exceed the amount spent for this shopping permit. Although we know about the discussions on this subject, I clearly advocate such a view.

Berlin Theater Stewards Send Letter to Kohl

AU2911200089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 89 p 1

[Letter by the plenary assembly of the shop stewards of the German Theater of Berlin to FRG Chancellor Kohl: "Letter to Kohl"]

[Text] "With increasing anger we are observing your advocacy of democracy in the GDR, we are listening to your call for free elections in our country, on which you want to make economic cooperation dependent.

"The GDR people have struggled for their reforms themselves and they will continue to do so. In the tough dialogue with our government and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, we do not need any political support from your government or your party.

"In their rather unhappy history, the German people have experienced political changes mainly from above or from outside. These changes included, after 1945, Stalin-type socialism in the GDR, which was supported by Soviet tanks, and parliamentary democracy in the FRG, which was fed to it with the silver spoon of the Marshall Plan. Today there is no doubt about the economic superiority of the FRG, but we reject the fact that the FRG chancellor puts himself at the head of a movement which has developed out of the courage and the political maturity of the people in our country.

"We are not against it, Mr chancellor, if you take to the streets for free elections, but we do not want to see you among those who are jumping on the bandwagon of our reform movement. We have enough of them in our own country. Apart from this, what kind of free elections would these be, if they are paid for with the FRG's money? The people here are absolutely able to demand free elections without pressure from the West.

"With best wishes for the difficult work in your country."

Plenary assembly of the shop stewards of the German Theater of Berlin.

Modrow Discusses Cooperation With Lufthansa Head

LD0612185589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1737 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Prime Minister Hans Modrow and the head of Lufthansa, Heinz Ruhnau, today discussed closer cooperation on German-German air traffic in Berlin.

The FRG's airline and the GDR's Interflung had over the past few weeks started flights from Leipzig to Frankfurt/Main, as well as to Dusseldorf and Munich and between Dresden and Hamburg. Further joint projects, including better coordination of destinations, airports, and departure times, the more efficient use of the GDR air corridors, as well as the use of training opportunities for crews, are under discussion.

Interflug Director General Klaus Henkes took part in the talks.

Minister Wilms Criticized for Evaluating Reforms

AU2811174589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Nov 89 p 2

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "Mrs Wilms Is Giving Marks"]

[Text] One may think (and say) what one wants about the new GDR government, but even the greatest skeptics must admit one thing: The team around Premier Modrow has taken on a gigantic package of tasks, each single one of which demands the use of all their strength. They have tackled the problems in an unconventional way, and they show courage for unpopular measures. They consider it their basic assignment to win and justify the people's trust through hard work.

The newly elected GDR government, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU noted, has "taken on the burden of the tasks of the century, which would almost be too much for 10 governments." Modrow promises the rule of law, freedom of assembly and coalition, a new media law, and education reform, advocates a new way of dealing with culture and the arts, and calls for socialist entrepreneurial spirit and for another energy policy, to cite just a few issues. "He did not even forget the new groups," he praises them for their prudent attitude during the mass demonstrations and ascribes them qualities that support the state, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU noticed.

Completely different is the judgment of Bonn's minister of inner-German relations. Mrs Wilms seem to think that she has to give marks—mainly bad ones. As one can read in DIE WELT, Mrs Wilms expressed "disappointment about some of Modrow's statements, without, however, having expected much more." She is critical of his statements about a new election law, she assesses negatively the lack of concrete statements about the expected legalization of the civil rights movements, and so on, in this style.

Nothing good at all. But yes, the Christian Democratic Union minister considers positive at least Modrow's emphasis on the rule of law and legal security, the revaluation of the government, and the planned decentralization of the economy. "The union politician noted with satisfaction the announcement that the relations with the FRG are to be put on a new basis."

And what role does the ministry want to play in this, a ministry whose elimination is demanded by leading politicians of the Social Democratic Party of Germany? That of a censor seems to be inappropriate in any case.

Talks on Economic Reform Held With USSR

AU2911181389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 89 p 2

[ND report: "Talk With USSR Delegation on Economic Reform"]

[Text] East Berlin—Politburo member Wolfgang Rauchfuss received the chiefs of Soviet industrial associations, who are staying in the GDR for a study visit. The guests were very interested in the ideas of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany about a comprehensive economic reform.

Based on the insights presented at the Socialist Economic Management Central Institute and on the experiences gained during visits to enterprises, such as to the heavy-machinery construction enterprise in Magdeburg, a constructive exchange of experiences developed quickly. The main topics were methods to raise the enterprises' economic independence, as well as possibilities and forms of efficiently enforcing the socialist performance principle.

The interlocutors concurred that the expansion of economic cooperation between the enterprises is indispensable for the initiated political and economic reforms in both countries. The bureaucratic obstacles, which were built up in the past in this respect, should be eliminated as quickly as possible. The interlocutors noted that the regular exchange of study delegations is an important contribution to the deepening of the close alliance between the GDR and the USSR.

The meeting was also attended by V. Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR.

Foreign Ministry Confirms Dalai Lama's Visit

LD0612143789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1327 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin ADN—In response to an enquiry, the acting spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, Dr Denis Ruh, told ADN that the Dalai Lama has entered the GDR as a private person. The spokesman reaffirmed the standpoint of the GDR Government that Tibet is an inseparable part of the People's Republic of China.

Article Demands Clarity in Foreign Policy

AU2611192889 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 21 Nov 89 p 4

[Dieter Weigert article: "For Clarity in Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Like all political mechanisms of our country, the process of decision-making in foreign policy has to be freed of taboos. Diplomats, political scientists, and all those who are working responsibly in this field will agree with me that only a renewed foreign policy is able to support and protect from outside influence the process of revolutionary restructuring of our society. Certainly, no one denies the positive results of the struggle for peace, disarmament, and international cooperation over the past decades. But nothing would be more harmful than the idea of unbroken continuity in foreign policy.

Popular Discussion About New GDR Foreign Policy

First of all, the foreign policy and foreign trade interests of a renewed GDR have to be determined in a broad, democratic popular discussion, and strategies have to be worked out to implement them. The narrow structures of existing institutions and ways of thinking are not sufficient for this, they have also never been intended for this purpose. "Popular diplomacy" is the key to a new approach to foreign policy, which means the consistent democratization of the processes of foreign policy decision-making, that is, the highest possible publicity and transparency of the internal and external conditions of our foreign policy. Creativity and ideas of our diplomats abroad can emanate only from the democratic movement of the people's masses, never from themselves.

Second, foreign policy in parliament and in the political public must be freed from the veil of "unanimity," which covers up real contrasting interests and makes the search for alternatives taboo even today. After all, it is incompatible with common sense that real contradictions, for instance, between narrowly understood economic interests and the ecological needs in the country itself would not also be reflected in differences concerning their foreign policy implementation. Only democratic discussion and decision-making can bring about the process of balancing interests, but it cannot be achieved via a decree from above. One has to note in this connection that the study of the fundamental processes of restructuring of Soviet foreign policy since 1985 is necessary in order to avoid one's own mistakes, and to apply the experiences that were gained there within the shortest possible time in a creative way to our conditions—a task which has been criminally neglected so far.

Democratization of the foreign policy decisions means, third, a qualitatively new role of parliament toward the Foreign Ministry and its leading cadres. Thus, public hearings to confirm the nominated minister, his deputies, as well as all ambassadors, are a necessary means of legislative control; once a year, the foreign minister should account to parliament about the results of the work of his ministry; as a matter of course, the coalition character of the government could also be reflected in the political composition of the ministry leadership and in foreign service personnel. The participation of the GDR public in the conceptual shaping of foreign policy presupposes information; therefore, the resumed publication of the monthly DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK [German Foreign Policy], which was liquidated in 1983, and the return to weekly publication of HORIZONT is recommended.

Finally, those deficits of joint work, which have been known to the employees of the Foreign Ministry and of the scientific institutions, but which were permitted to be talked about only secretly, should be eliminated; that is to say, the proportion of women in the leading echelons of the ministry and the embassies, which is approaching zero, accompanied by the steady decline of the number of female students at the International

Relations Institute and the leading by the nose and spoon-feeding in basic and advanced training of young diplomats by the Foreign Ministry.

In particular since the beginning of the 1980's, the worst deficit, however, has become increasingly felt in the embassies, at international conferences, and also at the United Nations—the lack of substantive initiatives, of creativity, of a search for alternatives in diplomatic work, and its replacement by protocol and big-power illusions. Here a lever has to be used to achieve a qualitative change in the situation and to win over our partners abroad through renewed, effective, and equal cooperation.

Important Decisions Were Delayed

No time must be lost because in foreign policy, too, necessary decisions have been delayed for structural and ideological reasons. One just has to think of the establishment of normal political and economic relations with, among others, the Republic of Korea and Israel, of the basic change in the actions of the United Nations, of the re-examination of the policy toward states in which mass violations of human rights are still on the agenda, of a new quality of international cooperation against illegal drug trafficking, against the dangers of international terrorism, for saving the natural environment of mankind, and of a new determination of our policy in the third world. The offer for cooperation by the GDR political scientists to the Peoples' Chamber and to Premier Modrow in solving these questions has been put on the table.

SED, Turkish Communists Exchange Views

AU2711073089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] On Monday [20 November], Jochen Willerding affirmed the solidarity of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany with the Turkish Communists in a talk with the representatives of the United Communist Party of Turkey—Deputy Chairman Mehmet Karaca and Deputy General Secretary Osman Sakalsiz. The guests reported on the struggle for democracy in their country, in particular for the admission of their party, and for the cessation of trials for ideological reasons and of torture. The focal point is the campaign for the release of Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin.

Trade, Economic Relations With Sweden Discussed

AU2911194589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Sweden Interested In Expansion of Cooperation"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and Sweden want to further expand their trade and economic relations. Corresponding projects were discussed by the Joint Government Commissions of the two countries in Berlin this week. The Swedes expressed their interest in new forms of economic cooperation, such as in the construction sector and in the energy sector. The partners also want to deepen their scientific-technological cooperation in physics, chemistry, biotechnology, biomedicine, as well as in ergonomics. The same goes for environmental protection and the health sector.

Sweden purchases from the GDR, among other things, machine tools and printing machines, electric motors, cables, pumps, textiles, and musical instruments. In return, the Scandinavian country delivers cellulose and special paper, iron ore, metallurgical products, vehicles, as well as machine tools and wood-processing machines.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 15-29 Nov

AU0212124989

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 16 to 30 November reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Politburo member Wolfgang Herger gave a speech at the People's Chamber Session in Berlin on 17 November. (18-19 Nov, pp 5-6)

Wolfgang Herger spoke at a panel discussion in the Central Committee's Consultation and Information Center in Berlin on 22 November. (23 Nov, p 2)

Politburo member Wolfgang Rauchfuss received heads of Soviet industrial associations in Berlin; date not given. (24 Nov, p 2)

Wolfgang Rauchfuss met with workers in the "Wilhelm Florin" Steel and Rolling Mill in Hennigsdorf on 25 November. (27 Nov, p 2)

Politburo candidate member Jochen Willerding met with Livia Turco, member of the Secretariat of the Italian Communist Party, for an exchange of views in Berlin on 18 November. (20 Nov, p 2)

Jochen Willerding met with Mehmet Karaca, deputy chairman of the United Communist Party of Turkey, and Deputy General Secretary Osman Sakalsiz in Berlin on 20 November. (21 Nov, p 2)

Jochen Willerding received Walid Masri, president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Berlin; date not given. (24 Nov, p 2)

Jochen Willerding met with Egon Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium, for an exchange of views in Berlin on 29 November. (30 Nov, p 2)

Message Sent to Ceausescu Regarding Pastor Tokes

LD0612192189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The Hungarian Republic's provisional president asks Nicolae Ceausescu to order the Romanian authorities not to harass and threaten Laszlo Tokes, Timisoara pastor, and his family in the future.

Matyas Szuros wanted to convey the message with the mediation of Budapest's Romanian Ambassador. Traian Pop, however, did not accept the letter.

The provisional president of the Republic in his letter reminds Ceausescu that despite the Hungarian Government's protest, increasingly rude insults are being directed to Laszlo Tokes, and this cannot be evaluated in any other way than that the observance of human rights, the free practice of religion, and the assertion of national minority rights in Romania come up against ever more powerful barriers.

In the letter he addressed to the Romanian head of state, Matyas Szuros expresses his hope that in the end good will be asserted and there will be peace between the two peoples.

'Text' of Message

LD0612223189 Budapest MTI in English 2027 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 6 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic, sent a message to Nicolae Ceausescu, Romanian head of state, concerning the afair of Laszlo Tokes, refromed priest of Timisoara. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs wished to forward the letter through Traian Pop, Romanian Ambassador to Hungary, but he was not willing to accept the letter. Following is the full text:

"Mr President,

We have knowledge of the consistent harassment, persecution and threats Laszlo Tokes, a reformed priest from Timisoara has been subject to for a lengthy period of time on account of his commitment to the cause of the Hungarian minority and his criticism of the Romanian situation. His relatives and the Presbyters who support him, two of whom have died in unclarifed circumstances, are also exposed to similar harassment. This has all been a cause of grave anxiety to Hungarian public opinion.

I should like to remind you that the government of the Republic of Hungary—on public pressure and the initiative of political parties—has already launched a definite protest in the affair, yet no reaction or satisfactory explanation has yet been received. On the contrary, the persecution of the people mentioned has intensifed, and recently there has been the attempt to expel Laszlo Tokes from his office and place of residence on the basis of unfounded legal charges.

We interpret this to be a further increase of barriers in the way of human rights, free religious practice and the observance of ethnic minority rights in Romania.

Mr President,

I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the behaviour of the Romanian authorities runs contrary to the spirit of the Helsinki process, the duties and principles enshrined in the international documents signed by Romania, and the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

I wish to emphatically request you to take steps to immediately stop the harassment and threats by the authorities against Laszlo Tokes and his family, and reinstall him in his religious post, as well as allow him to practice his official and human rights freely.

Mr President,

When we stand up to proctect Laszlo Tokes and voice our support for human rights and the free practice of religion, we are also guided by the intention to reconcile our neighbouring peoples and assert good will in their relations."

TASS Commentator on Ceausescu Declarations

AU0312204189 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 24 Nov 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "TASS Commentator on Ceausescu's Declarations"]

[Text] TASS Commentator Yuriy Kornilov reacted on 23 November to the declaration made by Romanian party leader Nicolae Ceausescu, which called for the soonest possible abrogation of the pact signed with Hitler's Germany 50 years ago. Yuriy Kornilov mentioned that, speaking at the current congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] about the events that took place 50 years ago, Nicolae Ceausescu called for a clear condemnation and abrogation of those agreements. The Romanian leader said that conclusions should be drawn from those agreements, and their practical consequences should be eliminated.

"The world press interpreted this declaration as if the Romanian leader voiced Romania's territorial claims from the Soviet Union, including Moldavia. Of course, Western propaganda centers arbitrarily interpret events and declarations at their will"—Yuriy Kornilov writes. He then goes on as follows: "At the same time, it is correct to remind the people that, as the Helsinki Final Document particularly stresses, peace in Europe could be guaranteed thanks to the inviolability of postwar borders in Europe. No responsible and serious political leader can question the present borders in Europe, including the borders of the Soviet Union. (As far as I know, no leader is questioning these borders.)

Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Assesses Visit

LD0612195289 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] In the next few minutes, the Israeli deputy foreign minister will depart from Budapest following his 2-day visit, thereby bringing to an end the highest-ranking official visit since the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel.

[Correspondent] Binyamin Netanyahu may be a young man, but he has a lively interest in the past. This afternoon he marveled at the exhibition of Hungarian Jewish memorabilia, and then, speaking about the present, he summed up the experiences he gained during his 2 days in Budapest.

First and foremost he asserted that Hungarian-Israeli cooperation could still be increased in numerous areas, for example, in the scientific-technical, telecommunications, or cultural fields. At his Budapest discussions, which were qualified as successful, several agreements which we intend to conclude in these areas in the near future were brought up.

The Israeli politician agreed with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy that the strengthening of direct relations between the two peoples could be the most effective form of cooperation.

Speaking about the changes in East Europe, the diplomat said that Hungary plays the role of a bridge between Israel and East Europe, and that in this process [of changes], Hungary has been in the vanguard. He said that internal ferment immediately gives rise to changes in foreign relations as well, and within this one of the first things is the change in relations with Israel. In Tel Aviv, they evaluate highly the fact that Hungary had initiated these changes, which was not upstaged even by the fact that in a few other countries the transformation is even more rapid.

The Israeli deputy foreign minister asserted that in his view Budapest continues to stand at the head of the process of democratization in East Europe, and this can only be of benefit to every country.

Opposition Demands Halt to Dam Construction

LD0312173489 Budapest Domestic Service i n Hungarian 1500 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] In a joint stand, Hungarian opposition parties and organizations demand a halt to the building of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage. The 15 signatories first and foremost want talks on amendments to the agreement to be held by the Hungarian and Czechoslovak Governments, which will be formed after free parliamentary elections are held.

FRG's Lothar Spaeth Visits; Awarded Degree

AU0112164389 Budapest MTI in English 2324 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 29 Nov (MTI)—Janus Pannonius University of Arts and Sciences, Pecs, has awarded an honorary degree to Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg in the FRG.

The degree was presented by Maria Ormos, academician and rector of the University, at the Wednesday session of the university council.

The West German politician then delivered an inaugural address on our common European traditions and the current transformation of Europe, including the rebirth of Hungary.

Herr Spaeth was accompanied to Pecs by an economic delegation from Baden-Wuerttemberg to hold negotiations with council and business leaders of Baranya county on the potential fields, forms and prospects of cooperation.

At the end of their Wednesday programme, Herr Spaeth and his entourage paid a visit to Lenau house, Pecs, the cultural centre of the German minority of Southern Transdanubia, and held an exchange of views with leaders of the Baranya organization of the Federation of Germans in Hungary and the Nikolaus Lenau Association on the situation of the German language minority.

Government Supports Insolvent Enterprises Closure

LD0712102189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The government supports the measures aimed at liquidating loss-making enterprises. The statement that appeared in MAGYAR HIRLAP talks about the (?accelaration of bankruptcy proceedings). On the [word indistinct] list of permanently insolvent enterprises, there figure 43 companies, which make up (?nearly one-fifth) of the losses of the national economy. Their liquidation could double the present number of unemployed.

Government To Hold Talks With Opposition Parties

LD0612235789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The Hungarian Government will begin negotiations over the weekend with representatives of the parties and other organizations. At the so-called national summit, the Parliament's self-declared dissolution, economic-financial matters, and the announcement of elections will be on the agenda—according to information obtained by NEPSZABADSAG.

On Friday [8 December], the government delegation headed by Miklos Nemeth will meet delegates of the

political parties, on Saturday he will meet the interest representative organs, and on Sunday he will negotiate with the leaders of the Standing Committees of the National Assembly.

During recent days, several political organizations, especially the historical parties, have expressed support for the present government during their meetings with the premier.

HSP Presidium Holds Session, Discusses Election

LD0612235489 Budapest MTI in English 2122 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 6 (MTI)—At its Wednesday session, the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party reiterated the HSP's wish to see the parliamentary elections held as soon as possible. The party's parliamentary faction is to pass a position on the date.

At the press briefing following the session, Pal Vastagh, member of the Presidium, said that in the course of the intensive organizing activity carried out during the past one and a half months, the attention of the Socialist Party had gradually focused on the arrangements for the elections, and it plans to take some crucial measures soon aimed at boosting its chances.

The HSP puts great emphasis on stabilizing its moral foundations. It wishes to establish such internal conditions that help the party eliminate instances of power abuse and corruption. To this end, all high-ranking officials in the party have to make a statement of assets as well as an ethical statement.

The Presidium also touched upon the party's relation to the HSWP under organization. The Presidium's guiding position is that any alliance with forces that do not recognize the need for the current radical changes in society and economy is damaging. A more complex evaluation of the activity of the HSWP will be possible only after the forthcoming congress of the organization, to which, MTI was informed, the HSP has not been invited.

HSP Registered at Court as Political Party

LD0212002689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] has been registerd at the Metropolitan Court. This was reported by Pal Vastagh, member of the party's National Presidium, at an active session in Veszprem. He also said that the membership of the HSP already exceeds 50,000.

National Assembly Statement on Referendum

AU0112152989 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Nov 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "National Assembly Statement on Accusations Against Calling a Referendum"]

[Text] The Hungarian Social-Democratic Party, the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Association of Free Democrats, and the Union of Young Democrats sent an open letter to the chairman of the National Assembly in which they claim that the National Assembly decision on holding a referendum at the citizens' initiative violated the law.

The National Assembly firmly rejects this accusation and informs Hungarian public opinion and Hungary's citizens of the following:

In making its decision, the National Assembly started from the premise that the initiative of more than 100,000 citizens with electoral rights cannot be disregarded. Taking into consideration legal stipulations, the National Assembly scheduled a referendum, although between its initiative and its scheduling, the National Assembly made essential decisions that led to solutions in harmony with the intention of the initiators of this referendum. The scheduling of a referendum is accompanied by the need to interpret the law, and, in accordance with the generally accepted principle, the body that created this law is justified in interpreting it. Therefore, the right of the National Assembly to interpret the law cannot be questioned, nor does the National Assembly avoid responsibility in this matter.

The National Assembly did not violate the law in the course of its interpretation. At the same time, in addition to legal and political responsibility, the National Assembly also had a moral responsibility to clarify every aspect of the question concerning the timing of the presidential election. This approach conceals the relations between the timing and the methods of presidential elections. Contrary to the claims of the political organizations that initiated the referendum, the question exclusively directed to the timing of the elections essentially deals with the method of electing the first president of the Republic. Therefore, in the view of the National Assembly, it is inevitable to make it known that, in the case of a majority of "yes" votes, the president of the Republic will be elected by the new National Assembly; and in the case of a majority of "no" votes, the president will be directly elected by the people.

In the case the National Assembly failed to provide an explanation for this question, the accusation would have been justified that the National Assembly focused on the interests of certain parties, rather than on the interests of the people. Other explanations are justified by the related National Assembly decisions.

In the current tense situation, the irresponsible and arbitrary steps that are placing the Parliament in the crossfire of attacks coming from various political forces—a Parliament that has created the legal framework of a peaceful transition—could lead to unforeseeable consequences.

Therefore, the National Assembly is calling upon the forces that are shaping public opinion to contribute with

their own means to the calm and dignified expression of the people's will, an expression free of any influence.

Szuros: Elections Possible in March

LD0212123789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] According to Matyas Szuros, parliamentary elections could be held on 11 or 18 March, if the National Assembly dissolves itself in December. The provisional president of the Republic also raised the prospect, at a forum in Nyiregyhaza, that a popular vote could be held on the person of president of Republic 3 months after the elections, thus in June, if this is requested and if the Constitution is amended accordingly. Matyas Szuros emphasized that in the period of transition, it will be necessary for the dissolved National Assembly to continue to function up to the time the new Parliament takes office, so as to insure economic stability.

Council of Ministers Holds Multi-day Session

Discusses Agrarian Policy

LD0212003189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers discussed modernization of governmental direction, its agrarian policy program, and personnel questions at its session scheduled to last 2 days.

The government, for the time being, has withdrawn its proposal for the creation of a Ministry of Labor Affairs, so that its sphere of influence can be precisely delineated from the Economic Ministry, which is also planned, and the competitive prices office, which is in the process of being created.

In agriculture, the Council of Ministers has taken a stand alongside a multi-sector setup, which means that large farms will continue to play a determining role, but the role of private farms and associations will grow as well. They are to put the concept before the National Agrarian Roundtable.

According to a promise made by the government spokesman, a briefing will be given tomorrow [1 December] on the personnel decisions.

Ends Session

LD0212224389 Budapest MTI in English 1938 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—After discussing the 1990 budget, the draft economic policy scheme and the long-term development plan in the housing policy, the government has concluded its three-day session by discussing other important economic policy questions.

The Council of Ministers is to put forward to the December session of the National Assembly the bill on the amendment to the social security law and a draft regulation relating to consumer taxes and price support. Parliament is to deal with the bill on a state assets fund in January. The government has abolished the wholesale restrictions with the exception of a narrow circle.

The minister of education briefed the government on the institutes of higher learning taking over the former HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and HSP buildings built for educational purposes. The Institute of Social Sciences—on account of its social role—is to be temporarily funded by the budget and placed under the supervision of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The government has commissioned the minister of education to start talks on setting up the Budapest University of Arts and Sciences.

Grosz Concerned With Antisocialist Forces

LD0212223889 Budapest MTI in English 1915 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—[words indistinct] Vas county provisional organizing committee held a rally in Szombathley on Saturday in preparation for the congress. Karoly Grosz, head of the organizing committee in charge of the HSWP'S XIVth congress, held a briefing on the congressional arrangements and the party's renewal programme.

He spoke in detail about the HSWP conference of May, 1988 and the process of democratization, and expressed his concern over the strengthening of anti-socialist forces. He sees democratic transition not as a peaceful process, but as a political struggle, which, however, should not lead to animosity.

On the situation of the left wing, Mr Grosz said that the HSWP should cooperate with the HSP in questions where the views of the two parties coincide, the party ranks should be lined up and the left wing united.

The HSWP is definitely a Marxist, left-wing party with a mass support, and wishes to use honest means to achieve honest goals. Extreme right and left wing elements have no place in the HSWP.

Fur Says Extreme Wings Emerging in Hungary

LD0212221189 Budapest MTI in English 1830 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—Lajos Fur, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) calls it extremely dangerous that even more powerful extreme wings are emerging in Hungarian public life. At the Saturday rally in the hall of the Veszprem Chemical Industry University, the HDF's candidate for president of the Republic pointed to one such extreme wing in the most dogmatic forces of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], Who, says Mr Fur has not for a moment given up their intention to wind back the clock and will do anything to halt the democratic transformation started in Hungary.

The other extreme which has too much emotion and vehemence in its policy and tries to force its highly radical views on people trying to increase hysteria among them is also bad for the internal situation of the country, says Lajos Fur. These emotions are extremely dangerous, and they will bring disaster upon the country. He also condemned such improper methods as libel and slander as well as false accusations getting more and more prevelant in public life.

At the Veszprem rally, a letter of protest was drafted to condemn the series of measures directed against Hungarian minorities in Romania, as well as against the brutal attacks on Laszlo Tokes and Andras Suto.

Free Democrats, Partners Hold Rally in Szeged

LD0312225689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] After the referendum and before the elections—this was the title of the rally staged today by the four parties in the coalition created for the referendum. Anna Juranyi reports on the event held by Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], the Social Democrats [MSZDP], and the Smallholders [FKGP].

[Begin Juranyi recording] According to SZDSZ, the referendum closed the past 40 years. In spite of the boycott, the people not only spoke out, but, for the most, they said yes. This amounts to a victory for the program of system-change, emphasized the participants, who saw the repository of the new Hungarian progressives to lie in the four parties. According to the MSZDP, the Hungarian Socialist Party has ended up in an awkward situation, and it is without justification that it pretends to be offended. It might recognize, I quote, that a horse race cannot be won with one single horse.

Several people asked what the future relationship of the four to the other opposition parties will be like. The opinion of FIDESZ: The coalition is open. We cannot rigidly demarcate ourselves, because in this manner we would shove the others into the arms of the Hungarian Socialist Party. However, we must avoid turning ourselves into a life-belt for dwarf-parties. Those who can demonstrate that they have a place on the progressives' map can join. They are also counting on the workers, in the framework of a strong, independent, free trade union movement. [end recording]

Pan-Magyar Body Holds First Open Meeting

LD0312222989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] The illegal history of the organization called the Pan-Magyar Body [oesszmagyar testuelet] goes back to 1953. They held a meeting officially and publicly for the first time today. Janos Fodor reports:

[Begin Fodor recording] The president, (Ferenc Bartis), is not optimistic about the fate of the Magyars. As he said, everything must be done to survive. While at today's meeting, which by the way was called a world conference, he emphasized that there can be no question of nationalism, irredentism, chauvinism, when the Pan-Magyar Body is discussed, he mentioned that in the course of history, three- quarters of our territory, and 40 percent of our population has been taken away. The objective of the body of independent, democratic, free principles is to facilitate the universality and cohesion of the Magyars and to strengthen national self-awareness, within and beyond the borders, because, I quote, if there exist borders on the map, there are none in our soul, in our self-awareness. At this moment, the Pan-Magyar Body, or rather organization, as it was said today, has 20,000 members. [end recording]

Green Party Holds News Briefing After Session

LD0212224589 Budapest MTI in English 1954 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—As the Green Party of Hungary also wishes to take part in making environmental decisions, it will put up its own candidates both for the parliamentary and local elections, said the press briefing following the Debrecen session of the party's national board.

It was also announced that the Green Party had launched a petition in Budapest in protest to the District Council's efforts to sell the city's invaluable green areas to different contractors, thereby doing damage to the natural environment. The party is also to initiate campaigns to protect the endangered areas on the Danube and the Tisza.

Independent Police Trade Union Formed

LD0212214789 Budapest MTI in English 1833 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)— The founding congress of the Independent Police Trade Union opened in Siofok on Saturday. Until now, the professional police force have had to do without any institutionalized representation, when their deteriorating living and working conditions would defintely call for one. In addition to traditional interest protection, the new trade union is to undertake protecting the positive traditions and values of the police, and working for more appreciation from society and state. It plans to enedvour in the spirit of solidarity and democracy, and with total openness.

The programme of the organization focusses on improving working conditions and ensuring equality of chances for promotion, with underlining the importance of such qualities as professional, human and moral competence, legality of action and a high standard of work. An aid scheme and a legal advisory organization are also to be set up.

Police Trade Union Founding Congress Ends

LD0312221689 Budapest MTI in English 1820 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 3 (MTI)—The founding congress of the Independent Police Trade Union, the interest protection organization of employees at the Ministry of Home Affairs and the professional police force—drew to an end in Siofok on Sunday with a closed session. Appointing the leadership, Leiutenant Bela Kirschner, of the Zala county police headquarters, was appointed as social president, and Lieutenant Laszlo Rekvenyi of the national police headquarter department for crime prevention, as general secretary. For the time being, their commission will be fulfilled as a voluntary social function.

Mr Rekvenyi had the following to say on the programme of the police union:

It will work independently of parties. Its interest protection activity will focus on extending the rights layed down in the labour code to the professional police force. For example, to protect their interests, the police force also have the right to strike. The programme focusses on improving working conditions and ensuring equality of changes for promotion, with underlining the importance of such qualities as professional, human a moral competence, legality of action and a high standard of professional knowledge. Appointments to high posts will be done through open competition.

Deputy Minister on Future of Voluntary Police

AU0312195989 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Nov 89 p 8

[Correspondent's report: "National Conference in the Interior Ministry—Police Should Be Neutral"]

[Text] "I would like to announce that, most probably, the epoch of socialism will come to an end in Hungary following the elections," Deputy Interior Minister Andras Turos said at the national conference on voluntary police service and the activity of advisory groups held in Budapest on 23 November.

Turos stressed that the police should accept the political changes and help these changes, and by no means should they confront these changes. The police should be neutral. They must have no reservations toward the political changes. The members of this body should decide whether to accept this neutrality or leave.

This also means—Andras Turos pointed out—that the voluntary policemen must do the same: They must also accept political neutrality, at least while on duty. In private life, this is another matter; it is everyone's own affair what position one is taking in struggling for social changes.

Like the professional policemen, the voluntary ones must also be asked whether they will serve in this new situation. It must be made clear to them that, here and now, it is neither their task nor the task of professional policemen to defend the social order. The voluntary police movement fulfilled its mission, and they deserve our thanks. However, a successful police activity continues to be impossible without helpers. In spite of all this, they can no longer function in their current form. The voluntary police organization should also be adjusted to the new conditions in our society. This movement should not have the same fate as the Workers Militia. Their place, role, and sphere of authority should be determined by the law on state and public security. In the coming days and weeks, we should ask the opinion of the population, public organiztions, and the parties on whether they regard as necessary the existence of a voluntary police movement in Hungary.

Even if society agrees that there is need for such a movement, this body, consisting of almost 60,000 men, will still have to be reformed. Maintaining this body costs the Interior Ministry 100 million forints. In Andras Turos' view, this investment is not proportionate with the activity carried out by this body. A body of 10,000 voluntary helpers would be sufficient, and this is the number of active people among them today too.

Speaking about the internal conditions of the police, the national police commander pointed out that the mood of the professional staff continued to be bad. A crisis of confidence between leaders and staff members continues. They blame the ministry for their low salaries, too much work, and for the fact that the leaders do not defend them from attacks. All this is true, but the Interior Ministry leadership is also under pressure, Andras Turos said.

During the current National Assembly session, the premier warned of a rapid deterioration in public safety, and the population's fear of criminals has now become an everyday fact. The efficiency of intelligence-gathering by the police is extremely low. Janos Bohar, head of the Department of Public Safety and Transport of the National Police Headquarters described this as an intolerable situation.

In response, Andras Turos announced that ministerial measures are expected in the coming days which will force the professional police to act. The criminal investigation bodies will pick up the gauntlet thrown to them by the criminals.

Federation of Commercial Trade Unions Founded

LD0212192289 Budapest MTI in English 1719 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—The Friday Congress of the Hungarian Union of Commercial, Financial and Catering Industry workers (KPVDSZ) declared the dissolution of the KPVDSZ. At the Saturday session of the congress, out of the legal successor independent branch unions, those for domestic trade, food industry,

consumers operatives, foreign trade and production equipment trade joined to found the federation of commercial trade unions.

Under the statutes of the federation passed by the congress, all assets of the KPVDSZ, including cash, active debts, and the leasing right of facilities - with the exception of two cultural centres to be in the ownership of the federation of commercial trade unions—will be owned and handled by the legal successors. The assets and liabilities of the abolished KPVDSZ will be allocated to the successor trade unions in proportion to their 1989 actual membership dues and their membership numbers on December 31, 1989.

Trade Union Federation of Metal Workers Formed

LD0312222189 Budapest MTI in English 1851 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 3 (MTI)—The Sunday session of the congress of the largest Hungarian trade union, the Union of Iron, Metal and Electricity workers, passed its new statutes, thereby founding the trade union federation of metal workers. In future, the central leadership will be called federation council, and a president and two vice presidents will be appointed.

Sixty percent of the membership dues will remain in possession of the branch organizations, and the rest will be given to the federation. A secret strike fund will be earmarked from the latter.

Under the resolution passed by the congress, strong social control is required over an economy based on mixed ownership. The metal workers' federation does not accept unemployment as a permanent condition. The reform of wages should be sped up. The resolution also says that social policy should focus on the family and pensions should not be allowed under the social poverty line.

TV Personnel Protest Government Supervision

LD0212133389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] The document which Laszlo Gyulai will read, was written before anybody knew about the decision today by the Council of Ministers, to set up a new Radio and TV Committee. However, I think many aspects of the letter are still relevant, particularly as the old committee—set up a few days ago—is still operating. The letter, addressed to the government, is signed by almost all the social and professional groups in television.

[Gyulai] Hungarian television has reached the verge of collapse. Because of the internal and external state of siege, practical planning has ceased within the institution. This means that from March 1990, Hungarian television will perhaps only be capable of transmitting actual programs.

The composition of the Supervisory Committee set up by the government is not accepted either by the viewers, or public opinion, or the professional organizations, states the letter addressed to the government. According to it, the most important question to be clarified is how Hungarian television can be regulated and directed in a multiparty system parliamentary democracy. According to the writers of the letter, a decision on this question can definitely not come within the sphere of activity of the Supervisory Committee operating at the present. The Parliament, and the government responsible to the Parliament, which will convene after the elections must deal with all this.

But, until that time, the writers of the letter emphatically request the government, for the first time in the history of Hungarian television, to listen to the opinion of the representatives in the profession before a decision is made.

Pozsgay on Media Supervision

LD0312231589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] There is perturbation in the areas of radio and television. During the past week you have heard half a dozen statements of protest about the so-called advisory board—in other words the supervisory committee—which the government, with political authorization, has put upon the backs of these two big organs of telecommunication. I am concerned in the affair, and consequently biased. It behooves me to watch what I say. In introduction I will merely say that those affected have considered as excessively wideranging the authorization which this political body received from the government in professional—in other words, nonpolitical—issues. Hence their misgivings, to put it mildly, which persist to this day.

Sensing this, on Friday [1 December], although it did not withdraw the mandate of the supervisory committee, the government formed two committees from one, with the mediation of Imre Pozsgay, and it kept the option of re-examining the original one as well. Although—evidently for reasons of prestige—it did not withdraw its decree, it nevertheless showed itself ready for compromise. This brings us up to the present. We sought fuller information from Minister of State Imre Pozsgay who, as you will soon see and hear, has taken a stand in some issues of principle.

[Pozsgay] Radio and television have become tools of power. In this the government would like to be impartial. It considers impartiality attainable if the parties keep an eye on one another and supervise one another, as this usually happens throughout the parliamentary democracies. The large proportion of the political parties consider that a supervisory committee of this kind—which comprises parties, but comprises other social organizations as well—is the most suited for guaranteeing impartiality and equal chances. On the other hand, there are a few parties and organizations which consider that this

could be done by an advisory board consisting of independent personalities. I cannot follow their logic, either, for in the matter of legislation it does not occur to these same parties to cast doubt on the fact that social balance is created through party struggles. Here they do cast doubt on this.

Supervision is not the task of the supervised, just as political control is not the task of the controlled. After all, one of our biggest miseries in the past 40 years derived from the fact that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] declared that in a one-party system the MSZMP must also function as its own opposition. This absurdity is impossible and one could see more or less how, in what way, it operated. Why should we introduce this into radio and television? These are public institutions; they are not the institutions of those who work there.

[Announcer] Yes, but by now perhaps neither radio nor television, if we assume an optimal case of course, would get into a dependent relationship with any party. Perhaps one should allow the radio collective to work according to the dictates of its conscience and honor. Naturally, with good leaders. And the same thing applies to the radio [as heard] as well. In other words, they do not necessarily have to be [word indistinct], they do not necessarily have to be supervised.

[Pozsgay] This is what every country does with the national media. There are countries where it is the premier himself who does this. There are countries where it is done by Parliament. And there are countries where Parliament sets up such a committee from its own parties. But you are certain to discover one trend in it: that as a matter of fact it is a supervisory committee standing outside the organization which operates wherever in Europe radio and television broadcasting takes place by way of state or national institutions. As for private television networks and radio stations, they are controlled by the press law and the principles of press freedom.

[Announcer] Naturally, they control them, allegedly, but, well, it is not certain that they do so in practice. Here it suffices for me to recall the period when you were entrusted with supervising these media, and you did not once make use of this right of yours—at least, not as far as I know. You did not make any kind of intervention, you did not dismiss anyone, you did not replace anyone. Whereas, I suspect, knowing your ability—and do not take this as flattery—by then you could see accurately that there was big trouble and something ought to be done.

[Pozsgay] Yes, I saw precisely that there was big trouble. But there were precisely two things that I wanted to avoid. One was to avoid even a semblance of the minister of state taking over the place of agit-prop direction and directives, functioning in the party-state formation, once this role of the party had ceased. I would not accept such a role for the world. I did not accept it even earlier on. At the same time, those parties and political forces—since all this took place before the coordinating discussions—had not yet emerged on which I could have relied as an authentic supervision. After the political coordinating discussions the situation changed, making this possible, and it was also on this basis that the government made a decision in this matter.

[Announcer] Two questions of a gossip flavor: if I remember correctly, I read in 'HETI VILAGGAZDASAG' [WORLD ECONOMIC WEEKLY] that although you are seemingly clean, the aleady existing supervisory committee, is your intellectual circle. If I remember right, this is how they put it. Did you have any influence in who the supervisory committee should consist of?

[Pozsgay] I had no manner of influence whatever. Every party and organization itself made a recommendation for a member of the supervisory committee. I consider what appeared in the 'HVG' to be a downright insinuation. If I were to puruse this line of thought, then everybody who enters into a relationship with the government, in whatever way, would be a compromised personality, from the Free Democrats to the Democratic Forum alike. Therefore, this—gradually this is indeed becoming the case—this atmosphere of suspicion shows that we have still not succeeded in getting over the political culture in which we have been writhing here for a long time. And I simply reject this political culture, because if we do not make decisive pronouncements in this matter, then such a terrible form of insinuations and [?slanders] would come into being that one would then have to speak not about Europe but about a Balkanizied political system. We should not slide into this. So for this reason as well, how should I put it, I would like to evolve a clean method of handling. That is also the reason why I undertook the discussions.

[Announcer] If you do not mind me saying so, in another connection, as a matter of fact, you once made the same kind of insinuation. At the Budapest aktiv meeting you said that you were very, very dissatisfied with the press, that it was one-sided, and in this case...

[Pozsgay] I did not say it in those terms.

[Announcer] Then I would like to quote you accurately, if I can find it...

[Pozsgay] Perhaps [?what I said was] that there are one-sided things in it.

[Announcer] The system of reporting has become one-sided in publicity—I think I have quoted you verbatim. In that case this concerns both the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] and the government. As a matter of fact you represent both of them. Now, the only reason I have brought up this example is because this same accusation is levelled against us, as practicing journalists, or at least against me and the editorial which I represent fairly frequently, by every other party as well, from the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] to the Social Democrats, to

say nothing of the small parties. In other words, if my feeling is correct, an impossible situation has arisen where the press is incapable of fulfilling the expectations. For a long time now it has not been a question of its going where it chooses, or not even where it chooses, but under the effect of pressures. There is no question of this by now. Simply for reasons of volume and for other reasons, it cannot report on everything. And the HSP, or if you like the government, when all is said and done, levels the same accusations against the press as, I repeat, do the other parties. So, in this sense...

[Pozsgay, interrupting] I was not leveling accusations against it, I was putting forward my experiences which I gained in the radio and the television. Precisely in the course of the experiences of the past weeks, the big mass communications media, such as the radio and the television, have been wrestling with exactly the same kind of identity crisis, the same kind of legitimacy deficiency, as the government and the Parliament themselves. So, from this point of view, if we can still manage to keep our political culture at some kind of European level, then at the elections we could attain a legislature which would settle all this and would also rethink what kind of supervisions [?should be placed] over organizations of this kind. Allow me then to quote from the government decree of 16 November, that it was precisely for this perspective, for this short term, that it brought this supervisory committee into being, so that even during that time...

[Announcer, interrupting] [Words indistinct] another committee...

[Pozsgay, interrupting] ...so that supervision should be legitimated at least by the parties until such time as this can be done by the legislation itself.

MTI Updates AIDS Statistics in Hungary

LD0112185589 Budapest MTI in English 1436 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 30, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Since the appearance of AIDS, 31 AIDS patients have been registered in Hungary, a country of 10.6 million inhabitants.

Twenty of them have died.

Those infected with HIV, the human immuno-deficiency virus, number 199. Most of these are men (183). The actual number of infected people, though, is likely to be many times the registered cases.

The first case of AIDS in Hungary was diagnosed at the end of 1986, and since then the number of patients has doubled every year.

This year, 12 new cases have been reported.

With these figures, Hungary ranks among the mildly infected European countries.

The Hungarian health authorities are to earmark 200 million forints (3.3 million USD) to support AIDS prevention next year.

The Hungarian AIDS Foundation, which kicked off with a 100,000-forint initial equity three years ago, now has 3 million forints (50,000 USD). This amount will serve as a fund for the AIDS-related education of regular soldiers and the 40,000 prisoners in Hungarian prisons and penitentiaries.

It is also being used to suport the Gay Association and the HIV Positive support group, formed a few days back.

Anti-Soviet Demonstration in Nowa Huta 6 Dec

LD0612193389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] We received these pictures from Krakow an hour ago:

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] Several hundred people gathered at the Lenin Monument in Nowa Huta at 1600 [1500 GMT]. Shouting the slogans: "Soviets go home!" and "Down with Lenin!" they pelted the monument with cans of paint and set it alight. The demonstrators went from the monument toward the District Militia Commissariat, where the militia used water cannons and tear gas. The demonstration is still in progress. [background sounds of shouts and cat-calls] [end recording]

Walesa Statement

LD0612192489 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 6—The Press Bureau of the chairman of Solidarity today presented the following statement of Lech Walesa regarding the case of Lenin's statue in Nowa Huta:

"The conflict around the monument to Vladimir Iliych Lenin in Nowa Huta is intensifiying. In connection with this I state that any drastic solution of this problem will be of a character of political provocation."

Leader of Ukrainian Poles on Their Situation

AU0612161389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Nov 89 p 6

[Report on interview with Walenty Grabowski, head of the Polish Cultural-Education Society in Zhitomir, Ukraine, by Wlodzimierz Sochacki; date and place not given: "Do Not Forget About Us—Poles Living in the Zhitomir Region"]

[Text] Last week, various representatives of Polish organizations and associations in the Soviet Union, where over 2 million of our compatriots live, were in Warsaw.

[Sochacki] The Zhitomir region has one of the largest concentrations of Poles in the Soviet Union to the east of the prewar border of the Polish Republic. You were the first to suffer the Stalinist repressions....

[Grabowski] The 1920's gave no indication of the tragedy that was to come later. In 1925, there was the formation the Marchlewski Autonomous Region with our own Polish administration, schools, and cultural institutions. However, in 1929-1930, the first attempts at forced collectivization got under way. Our autonomous region was to be the model of collectivization for the whole of the Ukraine, but the Polish peasant proved to be far more resilient than the Ukrainian or the Russian peasant. The antipathy toward the kolkhoz system was so comprehensive among the Poles, that the authorities only succeeded in collectivizing some 20 percent of the areas that were occupied by Poles.

In 1932, Stalin declared war on religion. In the Zhitomir region, the main brunt of the attack was taken by the Catholic Church, which was recognized to be the most dangerous opponent of collectivization by the Soviet authorities. Over the next few years, all Polish churches were closed. The local Poles replied to these repressions by taking up arms, and it was only in 1935 that the Polish armed insurrection was finally put down. Thousands of priests, teachers, and other representatives of the Polish intelligentsia were deported to labor camps from whence they never returned. About 100,000 Poles were forcibly deported to Kazakhstan, beyond the Dnieper River, or to the furthest points in Eastern Ukraine. In the years 1937-1939, Stalin sanctioned a policy of open genocide, and by his orders the majority of the Polish males who were still in the Zhitomir region were put to death.

[Sochacki] How many Poles are there in this region?

[Grabowski] Only about 100,000 out of a population of 400,000 of this area declare themselves to be Polish. It is characteristic that only a few percent of this declared number still use Polish in everyday speech; the rest use Ukrainian. This is the result of a long-term conscious and planned policy of eradicating all traces of Polish culture. These people have retained their Polish national identity throughout many decades thanks to their Catholic faith, and they have retained their knowledge of the language through hearing sermons in Polish.

These people now want closer contact with Polish culture and are reaching out to their cultural roots. The main obstacle to this process is the fact that the representatives of the intelligentsia in the Zhitomir region can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

[Sochacki] Are there any Polish schools?

[Grabowski] None. There is some instruction in Polish after normal school-classes in three schools in Zhitomir itself. We want at least one of these schools—school number 36, which is named after Jaroslaw Dabrowski—to become a Polish school. We badly need help from Poland, and we are hoping that Polish teachers will be able to visit us.

[Sochacki] What is the situation of the Catholic Church?

[Grabowski] Owing to the social protests, including hunger strikes, the authorities in Zhitomir have given back two churches to the parishioners. Religious instruction for children has now begun in those churches. We have also succeeded in reopening churches in Berdyczow and in two Polish villages, Jablonne and Korostyszow.

The mass participation of Poles in the commemoration of All Souls Day was a clear sign of religious reawakening. Some 3,000 Poles congregated in Zhitomir cemetery. This was our biggest religious manifestation for over 50 years.

[Sochacki] What about the relations between Poles and Ukrainians?

[Grabowski] In stark contrast to Western Ukraine, there is practically no antagonism between Poles and Ukrainians around Zhitomir. The orthodox Ukrainians often come to pray in the newly opened Polish churches, and they celebrate Easter and Christmas together with the Poles. There is no mutual animosity. Not so long ago, the Poles began to restore the old cemetery in Zhitomir which had been systematically destroyed over many decades, and the local Ukrainians joined in and helped.

[Sochacki] What sort of concrete things is your association expecting from Poland?

[Grabowski] The same things that all Poles who are living in the Soviet Union are expecting—namely, that we do not want to be forgotten and that we want to feel that everyday we can have contact with Poland. We need Polish publications and books, teachers of the Polish language and Polish history, priests, and experts in the conservation of monuments. We hope that after the many long years of having been forgotten, Poland will now pay some attention to us.

Mazowiecki on Economic Ties With USSR

LD0112163789 Warsaw PAP in English 1225 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 1—Head adviser to Premier Mazowiecki, Waldemar Kuczynski, speaks extensively today about the economic issues raised by Premier Mazowiecki during his recent visit to the USSR, in the GAZETA WYBORCZA today. Excerpts:

None of the problems has been definitely cleared as we wanted, though none of our postulates has been rejected either. Things have been left open, with some progress being achieved in certain matters.

Prime Minister Cyzhkov proposed to change the commodity exchange for trade, and this is the gist of the matter. So far it has been like the swap between primitive tribes in a forest glade—you give me a spear, I will give you a bow.

We propose that enterprises should trade between themselves without any middlemanship and settle their accounts according to an objectively fixed exchange rate.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, sets big store by the issue of settling accounts. It would like to pass quickly from ruble to dollar, even in the present mode of trading.

We cannot agree to that, as given the present structure of trade, we would lose on that.

A mixed working group to work out a joint attitude is planned to be set up. The Soviet Union would like to see an account-settling change as early as after 1990, we—after 1995.

The situation of both sides is difficult, as both Polish and Soviet economies are in a crunch, albeit at different stages of it. We, maybe, are better prepared to come off it. The crisis is on the rise over there. The Soviet Union is a rich country but experiences now an explosion of urgent needs.

Each of the sides has reasons and sins of its own, but we tried not to make things harder for one another. The talks were pretty tough, with the Polish side being not a suppliant. We did advocate the Polish interests, bearing in mind, however, the prospects, as the Soviet Union is a great supplier and buyer of ours.

Mazowiecki, Ryzhkov Discuss Gas Deliveries

LD0712043789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] During the Polish delegation's visit to Moscow, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki spoke to premier Nikolay Ryzhkov yesterday. They discussed the possibilities of expanding economic cooperation. Premier Ryzhkov again agreed to analyze the possibilities of increasing deliveries of natural gas to Poland in 1991-95, by 500 cubic metres more annually than the previously agreed upon amount. He also expressed initial agreement to deferring the payment of interest on the Polish debt in convertible currencies. Both premiers also spoke about industrial co-production of personal hygiene products.

Sakharov Interviewed on Perestroyka, Changes

AU0712111889 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 4 Dec 89 p 6

[Interview with Professor Andrey Sakharov by Leon Bojko at the Polish Embassy in Moscow; date not given: "If Poland Succeeded, Why Should We Not Succeed?"]

[Text] [Bojko] Professor Sakharov, how do you feel here, and what are your impressions?

[Sakharov] Until recently it would have been unthinkable to expect that a numerous group of independent intelligentsia could have been invited to the embassy of a socialist country, let alone meet that country's premier. I feel at home here, and among friends. For me, this meeting is a sign of a new epoch which has dawned in Eastern Europe.

[Bojko] Did you expect to see such developments a year ago?

[Sakharov] I try not to make predictions, because very often they do not come true. When we were living in Gorki, I believed that we would never get out of there. However, as concerns Poland, I put a lot of my faith in Poland, and I believed that Poland would show what it was capable of. For us your country then was like a different, beautiful, unattainable planet.

[Bojko] On what do you base your hopes for the future of your country?

[Sakharov] We have very good young people. The decades of trying to blunt our healthy common sense, and the teaching of conformity and submissiveness did not produce their desired results. Our young people behave like all other young people throughout the world. We lived through a great wave of strikes this summer, and the miners in Vorkuta are still fighting bravely for their rights. The workers are becoming more and more active. To a certain degree this is reminiscent of the creation of "Solidarity" in Poland, although admittedly the differences in conditions are so great that one cannot expect a repetition of the Polish experience.

[Bojko] We observe with growing respect the activity of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet.

[Sakharov] Here we have an example where very interesting and positive changes have taken place. The authority of the reforming wing is growing quite visibly, and the dangers that were expressed after the election of the Supreme Soviet at the Congress of USSR Peoples' Deputies have not materialized. We have passed a good and democratic electoral law, and we have affirmed the right of economic autonomy for the Baltic Republics. However, we must not have any illusions: The conservative forces are very powerful. The legislation on the press has recently been amended to our disadvantage.

[Bojko] We are following the development of the situation in the Soviet Union with both hope and fear. Which of these emotions do you think is more justified?

[Sakharov] I have said that I am unwilling to make predictions. We are now witnessing a definite offensive of the conservative forces, and the mood of society is worsening, mainly because of the difficult economic situation. Nevertheless, we have lived through several cycles of positive and negative moods.

[Bojko] "The end of perestroyka" has been announced four times now....

[Sakharov] More like six times. This is a great historical process, and such cycles will repeat themselves many times. It is far too early to lose heart. In Poland, you have succeeded in doing so much, and therefore why should we not succeed as well?

[Bojko] Professor, thank you for the interview and please accept my regards and convey my deepest regards to your wife, Yelena Bonner.

Reaction to Complaints of GDR Discrimination

Demonstration at GDR Consulate

LD0612194389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] A demonstration organized by the Independent Union of Students and the Confederation for an Independent Poland took place in front of the GDR consulate in Szczecin.

The consulate replied to the accusation of bad treatment of Poles in the GDR: Please do not blow up certain facts out of proportion because this spoils the Polish-GDR friendship that has developed over many years. The decisions forbidding the sale of goods to Polish profiteers are aimed at the economic consolidation of the GDR because a weak GDR is not good news for Poland.

GDR Reply to TU Letter

LD0612202889 Warsaw PAP in English 1818 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 6—Zbigniew Janowski, the chairman of the Trade Union Federation of Construction Employees has received a letter from GDR's Ambassador to Poland Juergen van Zwoll who has been instructed by the chairman of the Council of State and premier of the GDR to reply to a protest letter of Polish trade union-affiliated builders sent to him several days ago. The ambassador's letter reads in part:

"The moves taken by the GDR Government on November 23, 1989 with a view to protecting the domestic market are aimed against those who do damage to GDR's supply in these complicated times. Limitations on sale pertain equally to all foreigners. The decrees envisage that the limitations or bans on sale do not affect foreigners who are employees, experts, students and foreign representation personnel—employed or studying in the GDR.

"I am aware that in the first days of the introduction of the complex regulations, cases of improper reactions occur on the part of salesmen and other citizens of the GDR. I think that these were single cases."

Meanwhile, more reports have reached the federation about discrimination of Polish citizens employed at construction sites in the GDR—in purchases of even the basic commodities. The mass media as well as some activists of the GDR have waged a truly anti-Polish campaign. There are over 30 thousand Poles employed at construction sites in the GDR.

GDR Ambassador Television Appeal

AU0712112889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Dec 89 p 6

[Text] PAP—On 2 December, GDR Ambassador Juergen van Zwoll appeared on Polish television and stated the following:

Ladies and Gentlemen: The trade and customs restrictions imposed by my government have aroused widespread disgust and protest in Polish society and in Polish official circles. I fully understand this and not any other reaction. I have often heard the argument: The Poles helped the GDR when it was in need, and look what has happened now. The decisions of my government are the result of a serious threat to the GDR market, that above all has arisen as a consequence of our internal problems. The appraisal of the level of the threat and undertaking

the appropriate steps to counteract it are and have to remain solely a matter for my government. I see the severity of the regulations as temporary. It means that we have to put up with this abnormal state of affairs for a certain time. At the moment, ladies and gentlemen, I am unable to make any promises, but I have not chosen to speak to you for this reason only. In the name of our government I would like to apologize to all those Poles who suffered distress by having their personal property damaged, by being insulted, and disgracefully treated. I dissociate myself completely from such wanton acts which, for the most part, stem from emotions, nerves, and excitement, that in some cases is generated by the unhealthy bedrock of nationalism. My country is undergoing a very responsible period of renewal. It is rich in new and valuable features and processes, but also contradictions and dangers. We would like to open ourselves more sincerely to the world. In the words of Premier Modrow, we would also like to attain a new quality in our relations with Poland. The steps in question would seem to contradict these intentions. Viewed from the outside, it is difficult to see how they could appear otherwise. I would ask you not to doubt the sincerity of the intention and the plans of my government, and the majority of the GDR society. I ask the Germans and the Poles on this side of the Odra and Nysa for their understanding. There is so much more that unites us than there is that divides us.

Senate President Comments German Unity

AU0612135089 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 6 Dec 89 p 10

[Bernt Conrad report: "Kohl's Plan Lacks the 11th Point"]

[Text] Bonn—"All peoples have the right to self-determination—the German people, too, of course," Andrzej Stelmachowski, marshal (president) of the Polish Senate, stressed in an interview with DIE WELT. His conclusion: "Thus, everything is clear at the moral-political level." However, the entire question is internationalized by juridical constructions for a continued existence of the German Reich within the borders of 1937. Therefore, it is not only a problem of the Germans but at least also of Poland and the Soviet Union, whose territories are affected by the reference to the borders of 1937.

The Solidarity politician thus referred to the corresponding judgments of the FRG Constitutional Court, which constituted a "juridical model and also a goal for the FRG." Today they are still an obstacle to reunification. Asked whether he, as a Pole, would accept the desire of the Germans in East and West for coexistence in one state within the current borders, he said with emphasis: "Yes, absolutely!"

Stelmachowski—who is staying in the FRG for 4 days—said that the chancellor's 10-point program for a federalistic solution to the German question is very interesting. What is missing is the 11th point about the relationship with the neighbors and their borders. In order to make progress in this respect, he proposed to form—within the framework of the "community of treaties" with the GDR, which Kohl envisages—not only committees for economy, transportation, the environment, science, health, and culture but also a committee for "state problems" with special powers "in order to finally solve the border problems."

The Senate president stressed: "I am speaking as a jurist and I am looking for formulas that show a way out." In his view, the parties involved have to solve the problem as quickly as possible "to reduce or eliminate completely the fear that exists among the neighbors." In this connection, Stelmachowski did not leave any doubt that he is profoundly moved by the current changes in the GDR and elsewhere within the sphere of communist power. "I am very happy that I live in a time of peoples' spring," he stated—and added: "The German question is the core of the new events."

The Solidarity representative assessed the chancellor's recent visit to Poland as a step forward. "I support the intention, which was announced by the chancellor in Warsaw, to develop similar relations between Germans and Poles as between Germans and Frenchmen. The young generation is particularly in favor of this. Therefore, it is a particular pity that the central problem of the borders was left hanging somewhat in the air during the visit. This remains the sword of Damocles for us."

Stelmachowski wished the democratic opposition members in the GDR that they develop "more detailed forms of democracy" and gain political experience. In Warsaw Solidarity experiences how difficult it is to build up a new parliamentary life out of the opposition. "We are the amateurs there and we are learning step by step," the Senate president said.

Daily on USSR, Socialist Bloc Democratization

LD0512101589 Warsaw PAP in English 0939 GMT 5 Dec 89

["Changes—Central Europe Farther Than Others"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 5—The government daily carries today an article under the above heading. Reviewing the democratization processes in the USSR and the other socialist countries the daily wrote i.a.:

It is not hard to perceive that Poland is the calmest country among the erstwhile "grand socialist family of nations." The process of moving along the path towards normalcy is most rational in this country. It being the most advanced and least emotional, we are an oasis of calm, excluding the unnecessary vocal emotions aroused in connection with the monuments that are badly evoked by human memory. Our real fears and stresses are today of a quite different, of an economic nature. And not so long ago Poles were charged with a sort of an inborn inclination to political anarchy and firebrand, a lack of

state instinct and with putting the security of Europe, if not of the entire world or cosmos, to jeopardy.

We are farther down the road than the others, though these others, drawing more than one thing from the Polish experiences, are leapfrogging the time now at a breathtaking speed. That farther down the road means, too, that we want real socialism no more. Neither the one with the Stalinist moustache nor the one with a human face. No longer do we want to ameliorate, improve or rectify the system which used to harass us over nearly half a century and whose tragic legacy—social and economic—will have to be dealt with by us in sweat and tears in the years to come.

Solidarity Executive Committee Holds Meeting

Commission Begins Session

LD0612033989 Warsaw PAP in English
1315 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 5—The Presidium of the Solidarnosc National Executive Commission (KKW) is debating here. The debaters discuss an amendment to the trade union law and intra-trade union questions. Besides, Solidarnosc press spokesman is to be named.

Meets, Debates

LD0612175589 Warsaw PAP in English
1701 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 6—The National Executive Commission of Solidarnosc holds debates here.

The Commission discusses amendments to the law on trade unions, the operation of unions among young people in vocational schools and the militia. It will also deal with matters of group dismissals and hiring stemming from transformations in the Polish economy.

Further on Session

LD0712000389 Warsaw PAP in English
2329 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Gdansk, Dec 6—The KKW Solidarity National Executive Commission held a session here today with a view to discussing union movement and organizational issues.

Lech Walesa appealed to Solidarity members to actively join the economic activity at enterprises and in regions as well as to use emerging possibilities of broad cooperation with foreign countries.

The KKW adopted a resolution in support of grassroot strivings of policemen and prison wards to form independent self-governed unions.

The body discussed government bills on employment and on particular conditions of termination of employment contracts in case of bankruptcy, liquidation of an enterprise or reduction of its employment. It took a stand on the two bills, which presented KKW objections and demanded that trade unions be granted the right to fully inspect an enterprises's economic situation after it has announced an intention of collective dismissal of employees.

The KKW authorized its presidium to word a draft document on recovery of the union's assets.

It accepted the resignations of Andrzej Mielczanowski and of Grazyna Staniszewska from membership of the commission and its presidium and thanked them for the to-date work, the reason for their resignations being the fact that they had not run in the union's regional elections.

The KKW decided to appeal for marking the anniversary of Dec 13, the first day of martial law in Poland in 1981, with a five-minute signal by sirens of enterprises and cars at 12.00 hrs.

Extraordinary Commission on Former Government

LD0712000289 Warsaw PAP in English
2258 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 6—The Sejm (parliament) extraordinary commission for assessing the activities of the former government held a meeting here today.

Professor Jerzy Doerffer, a scientific employee of the Gdansk Technical University, said that the Gdansk shipyard stood a good chance of development but the government decision to liquidate it created an obstacle.

He informed the meeting that last year the shipyards profit was 8.5 thousand million zloties, with goverment subsidies reaching 3.5 thousand million zloties.

Arkadiusz Goj, a shipbuilding expert from the Szczecin shipyard, invited by the commission to express his view, stated that the shipbuilding industry in this country equals world technological standards. He also said that there had not been economic foundations to liquidate the shipyard. Czeslaw Tolwinski, director of the Gdansk shipyard in the process of liquidation, expressed a similar view. He said that this years profit of the shipyard would have been more than 20 thousand million zloties.

Those taking the floor during the meeting came out in favour of offering the shipyard a chance to rebuild its production capacities over 2-5 years by granting it tax reductions.

Such opinions drew criticism from Deputy Ireneusz Sekula of PUWP who stated that the former government had been aware that no preferential treatment should be given to the shipbuilding industry.

Deputy Ryszard Bugaj, chairman of the extraordinary commission, stated that the discussion on whether the decision to liquidate the shipyard was right or not could not be concluded. It is expected that the commission will continue to discuss the subject.

Next the commission adopted its stance towards the exceeding by the former government of the permissible volume of the state budget deficit. In its stance the commission stated that the exceeding of the state budget deficit, whose ceiling is defined by appropriate laws, came as a result of mistakes in the economic policy and in the process of systemic changes. The assessment made by the former government that the rise in prices this year would be 19 percent was an elementary mistake.

Mazowiecki Hands Proposals to Economic Council

LD0212132289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki handed in proposals to the members of the 17-person Economic Council headed by professor Witold Trzeciakowski. The premier stressed that he expects the Council to objectively and scientifically assess both the government's plans on economic policy and its results. Tadeusz Mazowiecki also said that one of the most important issues at the moment is to work out the scale and mechanisms of state intervention in the economy, which is changing into a market economy.

Council Holds First Meeting

LD0212232489 Warsaw PAP in English 2132 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 2—The 17-member Economic Council held today its inaugural meeting as an advisory organ to the Council of Ministers and the premier.

The council is headed by Minister Witold Trzeciakowski and it comprised Ryszard Bugaj, Jerzy Dietl, Cezart Jozefiak, Grzegorz Kolotko, Jozef Kaleta, Stefan Kurowski, Antoni Leopold, Jan Lipinski, Adam Lipowski, Jan Mujzel, Krzysztof Porwit, Andrezejk Rychard, Zdzislaw Sadowski, Waclaw Wilczynski, Leszek Zienkowski and Leslaw Wasilewski, whith the latter being appointed secretary of the council.

Addressing the meeting, the prime minister said that he expected the council to provide an unbiased and scientific assessement of the plans and effects as concerns the economic policy. He stressed that the turning to the market economy urgently required the working out of mechanisms of state's interference in the economy.

The working meeting of the council was attended by Western experts in economy with Professor Stanley Fischer, Professor Stanislaw Gomulka, Professor Jeffrey Sachs and George Soros who covered the costs of experts' visit to Poland.

They discussed the plan of undertakings indispensible at the first stage of the economic programme to be made the curb the inflation. Professor Gomulka told PAP that scientists pointed to the necessity to use an "anchor" to curb the inflation. It could be the freezing of pay rises, he explained but added that it was a purely economic approach.

Speaking about the chances to attract the foreign capital to invest in Poland, Gomulka said that it was linked with structural changes.

He said that it was not possible to carry out a fast and broadly-perceived privatization in Poland at the moment and opined that it should be a longer process. At the conclusion, he said that Poland could expect a bigger inflow of foreign capital if the stability programme succeeded.

Vice Premier Janowski on Economic System

LD0612181189 Warsaw PAP in English 1503 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Krakow, Dec 6—"A change in Poland's economic system takes place in tune with expectations. Besides, there will be no interference in economic laws," Vice-Premier Jan Janowski said in an interview for PAP.

The vice-premier went on to say:

"We never expected that the Gierek epoch could be repeated, that western states would continue to give us loans and that we would do with them whatever we wanted. Discussing assistance and credits, one should differentiate two questions: assistance—particularly the supplies of food to improve the state of the market (this amounts to one hundred and several dozen million dollars that mean something but are not decisive) and a stabilization credit, particularly important for us and the one for which we struggled so much. This will be this money that we will have at our disposal and that will be the foundation for the convertibility of the zloty.

"This stabilization credit—now amounting to one billion (dollars), although we expect it to be greater—will serve, for instance, to enable everybody to buy dollars in a bank and to see them to really be there. As a government we did not strive for other loans. The giving of dollar loans by a state for investment purposes came to an end. That is why the remaining credits gained by us consist primarily in creating financial conditions and giving financial guarantees to these who want to develop and whose concepts to restructure factories were positively sized up by foreign partners.

"There are two supreme and necessary elements of the government programme. These are defeating inflation and bringing about the convertibility of the zloty. A decision on the convertibility of our currency is of key significance as it makes it possible to make all components of economic profitability real. There are proponents of a concept that the convertibility of the zloty should take place already from the start of 1990. The government fixed March 31, 1990 as a definitive deadline for this decision. It is certain that the swifter it takes place, the more we can count on the success of the government's next economic actions," Vice-Premier Jan Janowski said.

Economist R. Szewczyk on Foreign Investment

PM0712111889 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 14 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Dr Ryszard Szewczyk of the Krakow Academy of Economics International Finance Institute by Tadeusz Stec; date and place not given—first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The Polish economy can be saved by the country's opening wide to foreign investment, joint capital ventures, and the creation of duty-free, or economic, zones. Progress in these matters has accelerated since the appointment of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, which aims to restructure our economy thoroughly and adjust it to a free market model.

But even though only a modest beginning has been made in this sphere to date, here and there we are beginning to hear voices expressing anxiety over the impending sale of the national assets which could lead to our country's losing its economic sovereignty. These opinions are heard mostly among the defenders of the "old order"—though not only those—and they have already evoked considerable public response.

Below we publish an interview in which Dr Ryszard Szewczyk of the Krakow Academy of Economics International Finance Institute gave us his opinion on this question.

[Szewczyk] It would not be amiss to begin by reiterating the obvious truth: that Poland is patently unable to emerge from the crisis by its own effort and that our economy's position in Europe cannot be strengthened unless it receives the support of foreign capital and technological assistance from Western countries. Obviously this categorical imperative leads to further imperatives. Whether the public like it or not, we must involve our economy with foreign capital if we want a position of any consequence in the family of European countries.

[Stec] This imperative is not put into question by anyone who thinks at all realistically, as long as it is discussed in general terms. But as soon as you begin to put forward concrete solutions in the sphere of joint capital undertakings, a number of fears and doubts are raised.

[Szewczyk] These are probably the consequence of certain complexes, especially a 19th-century interpretation of capitalism and the heritage of the past 40 years of the propagandist representation of capitalism, together with foreign investment ventures, as a fearsome bogeyman.

[Stec] Nevertheless, are there no grounds for fearing that foreign capital could one day threaten the national interests of our economy?

[Szewczyk] I see no possibility of such a threat—provided, of course, that the state creates an adequate system of legal safeguards involving, first and foremost, land ownership. The opening up of our country to foreign investment can only help remove the worst drawbacks of our economy, that is, low supplies of poor quality goods and a monopoly held by a number of producers on a considerable number of goods. It is only then that competition can develop, whereas a lack of vigorous competition can only lead to recession and stagnation—as we know from our own bitter experience.

[Stec] If we enter a situation in which goods manufactured by foreign companies or joint-venture enterprises gain an upper hand in the market, it could cause many of our own, domestic producers to go bankrupt.

[Szewczyk] I would not see this as a disaster for the economy. On the contrary: Only competition can in the long run help to increase the supply of goods and improve their quality. After all, it was thanks to foreign capital that such countries as South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore were set on their feet in the economic sense.

[Stec] But what about the phenomenon of the transfer of capital abroad? One of the fears often expressed is that it could lead to an outflow from our country of the capital created by the foreign companies, which would be tantamount to a depletion of our national income.

[Szewczyk] You must not forget here that the profit from each company is subject to predetermined distribution. It goes toward creating such resources as the development fund, or dividends for shareholders. It is only the surplus—after all the overheads and liabilities are met—that stays in the producer's pocket and can be transferred. The producer's right to the free disposal of surplus profit is, in any case, one of the fundamental elements of economic freedom.

[Stec] But in this case that freedom can, so to speak, turn against our state's economic interests.

[Szewczyk] You cannot interpret the question of state interests only in terms of the foreign transfer of a proportion of capital. The existence of each foreign company or joint venture enterprise in Poland brings a number of unquestionable benefits. This is because it enhances our domestic market by bringing in more goods, provides jobs, and brings in tax revenues which, after all, strengthen the state budget.

[Stec] Consequently, a policy of discouraging the influx of foreign capital to Poland in a situation when we cannot bring about an improvement of the economy by our own efforts, would in practice be tantamount to practising a dog-in-the-manger attitude.

[Szewczyk] This is a much wider issue, especially if you regard it from the viewpoint of what is happening in the EEC countries. After all, they have already achieved a far-reaching economic integration, which could only take place through a mutual and equally far-reaching network of capital transfers and economic ties. Such cooperation does no harm whatever to the individual national interests of the EEC member states. On the contrary: It brings them many mutual advantages.

Despite the ever closer ties of economic cooperation developing between them, these countries also preserve their national identity. Therefore there is no reason to fear that economic integration, which would involve opening up Poland's economy to foreign investment and consequently to the EEC countries, could endanger our national interests. I believe that the notion of a sell-out of the national assets is unjustified and should be deleted from the dictionary of economic terminology.

[Stec] You are reported to have your own program for the socialization of all existing major state enterprises in Poland. What are the basic assumptions of that program?

[Szewczyk] A more detailed paper in which I discuss my proposal is soon to be published in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE. I recommend that 50 percent of our national assets be distributed in the form of securities among all adult citizens of our country. Calculated at current prices, the value of one security would amount to several hundred thousand zlotys.

[Stec] And what next?

[Szewczyk] Each shareholder could exchange his security for shares or stocks, provided that he meets one condition: He would have to buy shares to the full value of the securities held. Clearly not everyone would decide to enter into such a transaction, but I am confident that there would be no shortage of people, or whole groups of people, who would buy and sell larger numbers of shares, thereby creating a considerable stock market.

[Stec] And the shareholders would then be left on the battleground.

[Szewczyk] This is precisely the idea—to concentrate capital, in the form of shares, in their hands. They would then become major shareholders in large companies and could press, through their capital, to encourage the optimum economic results in those companies. At the same time it would be a form of far-reaching socialization of the economy.

[Stec] How would you solve the logistics of the distribution of securities?

[Szewczyk] They would be distributed among the work forces of individual companies. If not all employees wanted to buy them, the sales could be opened to outside buyers. If there were still not enough candidates, then the securities could be offered for sale also to foreign buyers.

Mazowiecki Celebrates Miners Day in Katowice

LD0312174389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Today's celebrations on the eve of Miners' Day were inaugurated by a mass at St Anne's Church in Katowice Janow, concelebrated by Katowice Diocese Ordinary Bishop Damian Zimon. Taking part in the mass was Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. In the (?word) of the Wieczorek mine in Katowice-Janow, Tadeusz Mazowiecki met miners from this enterprise and local residents, and laid flowers at the alter of St Barbara, the patron saint of miners. Thanking the miners for their voluntarily-undertaken work on work-free Saturdays, the premier gave assurances that mining and Silesia would be a subject of the constant attention of his government. At the Katowice-Janow mining hospital, Tadeusz Mazowiecki spoke to sick people, wishing them a speedy return to health. Next, the premier acquainted himself with premises in the Janow worker's district. This past Saturday, miners extracted 339,218 tonnes of coal, that is 35,039 tonnes less than a week ago.

Addresses Katowice Miners

LD0412110689 Warsaw PAP in English 2126 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Katowice, Dec 3—The observances of the the traditional Miner's Day were under way in Silesia today.

They were started by a morning mass at St. Anne's Church in Katowice-Janow today, with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Sejm deputies and senators from the Silesian region and representatives of the authorities of this region taking part.

The premier met miners and residents of the Janow district of Katowice at the "Wieczorek" coal mine.

Welcoming the assembled miners with their "God speed you" traditional greetings, the premier said:

"These regards express my respect and that of my government for miners, the entire Silesia and its regional values that so much enrich Polish social landscape. Silesia is also a region of inter-human and organized Solidarnosc. Its proofs were presented in the summer of 1980 and 1988, and particularly in the winter of 1981 when many Silesians suffered for Solidarnosc and miners from the "Wujek" coal mine gave their lives for it.

"The government will take steps that will cause hard miners' work to be better used. We pursue difficult reform of the Polish economy and the structure of the mining industry will also be essentially changed," the premier announced.

"Factors burdening miners' work for years will be eliminated and political problems should be solved outside mines.

"I would like the idea of building a new place for mining in Poland's economic life to be supported by everybody, irrespective of political and trade union differences dividing them."

The premier thanked miners for the work they did on free Saturdays (miners extracted 399,210 tonnes of coal last Saturday).

Mazowiecki met representatives of three miners' unions at the "Wieczorek" coal mine. The premier said:

"An appeal for additional work on Saturdays aroused many reservations. Reports on the economic situation that I received as head of government showed that I could not wait any longer with the appeal.

"One can consolidate independence by various ways and one of them is strengthening Poland's economy. After many talks in East and West, I can assure you that this also means the country's independence and it is not accidental that I issued this appeal on November 11.

"The government drew up a plan of reforms in mining that would most likely be adopted at a government meeting. The plan takes into account miners' various postulates aimed to eliminate intermediate structures. To bring about the independence of enterprises and to change the status of the hard coal community.

"The reforms are necessary and at the same time we must go forward in a responsible way. A situation cannot emerge when somebody will not be responsible for anything.

"The atmosphere of work is an unusually important question. As antagonisms between the supervision employees and miners occur in a drastic way, agreement on obvious questions should also be reached between your three trade unions," Mazowiecki said.

The premier thanked miners for their work, political maturity, self-control and understanding of Poland's difficult situation. "I would like to continually count on this," he said.

Next, participants in the meeting asked the premier questions that concerned relations of wages between mining and processing industries and the possibility of returning to Poland's former administrative division.

Barbara Czyz of the Confederation for Independent Poland raised a different question, saying that TV untruthfully showed the course of President Jaruzelski's Saturday visit in front of the "Wujek" coal mine.

"I think that one should respect this difficult situation of President Jaruzelski. I want to say that no matter what we would think about him in the past, today he is a man protecting reforms and taking steps to promote these reforms, and that is why it is not catcalls but respect towards him that is necessary today.

"Perhaps, we do not know everything about situations in the past and he told me several times that we would take several things with him to the grave. I think that he deserves respect," the premier answered.

After meeting the premier, trade unionists continued talks with Minister of Industry Tadeusz Syryjczyk, managing director of the hard coal community Jan Szlachta and one of the authors of the programme for restructuring mining Assistant Professor Jan Macieja.

Four PZPR Deputies Leave Floor Group

LD0612194489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Magdalena Wieniarczyk reports from the Central Committee building in Warsaw on 6 December]

[Text] The parliamentary Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] began its meeting, as usual, behind closed doors. The deputies' meeting with Mieczyslaw Rakowski was not made accessible to journalists. The first secretary spoke about the Moscow meeting of the Warsaw Pact countries' leaders, following the Gorbachev-Bush talks. He focused on international affairs, and in particular on the German issue, emphasizing the fears about the plan to unite the two German states. PZPR deputies discussed the draft law on amnesty and have in the program later today a discussion on the work done so far on preparing the new Constitution, and proposed changes in the cooperative movement. Also planned is the adoption of an appeal to PZPR members, in connection with the electoral campaign in the party, on the eve of the 11th congress. The draft of the document includes a call to elect delegates who will not fear to tackle conservatism, the old order and fear of profound changes.

However, before the parliamentary PZPR began its proper meeting, Marian Czerwinski delivered a statement on behalf of himself and three other deputies, saying that the most audible voices in the party and in the parliamentary floor group are reactionary, which testifies to the lack of understanding of the changing situation. Having thought about it, the four deputies have decided that the party is impossible to reform, and in connection with this the four have decided to give up their party membership and to leave the parliamentary floor group.

U.S., USSR 'Alone Cannot Solve Problems'

AU0712102389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0908 GMT 7 Dec 89

["The Soviet-American Meeting in Malta"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 07/12/1989—The Romanian foreign affairs weekly LUMEA carries in its latest issue of Thursday 7 December an article on the Soviet-American summit off Malta.

Outlining the questions discussed during the meeting as inferable from the statements made by Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush, the article shows:

On the one hand, global problems such as disarmament call for global solutions, with the participation of all states. Given the responsibility of the great nuclear powers, and their outstanding role, they cannot and must not be opposed to an open discussion of these questions in the presence and with the participation of all states that are equally interested in a fair, democratic and just settlement. As a matter of fact our—Romania- -head of state outlined in today's world such problems, nuclear included, which cannot be resolved by the two superpowers alone, but require the equal participation of all states. On the other hand, regional problems which have global implications naturally demand the participation of the countries directly concerned and of all interested states in their debate and resolution. This holds true for the European states which, whatever their size or social system, are called to make a direct and decisive contribution to security-building on the continent, with their independence and sovereign prerogatives being observed. This is equally true of other countries in various regions of the world such as in the Middle East, in Central America, etc. without whose contribution a real solution to the problems facing them is not to be conceived. Certainly, in either case the big powers alone cannot solve the problems as previous or more recent experience has shown. Moreover, a closed-circle debate of such problems breeds fears that accords can be concluded to the detriment of the other states.

Real and highly significant as it is, the great powers' capacity to contribute to peace can only materialize positively on the basis of the equal-termed cooperation with all nations. In this respect, summitry, including that between the big powers, can and must lead to beneficial developments in the approach to problems and their resolution in the interest of all peoples.

In order to be fulfilled, the wish stated during the Soviet-American summit meeting in Malta, to set peace and cooperation efforts on a positive course requires the broad and active participation of all states. Overcoming the cold war and joining the struggle for the assertion of a truly new international policy require more than just an improvement of relations between the two superpowers, or between a restricted group of states, no matter how important an impact they may have on the world as a whole. The course to detente, toward a more stable and fairer relations between states, the settlement of the problems affecting world peace, and progress depend on the active contribution of all nations, without distinction as to their size, economic or military potential, or social system. The generous aims brought out in bold relief by the Malta talks, therefore, call for broad democratic platforms of action and solidarity of all states, based on respect for their right to take part, in freedom and independence, in the struggle for the triumph of the cause of world peace and cooperation, the article in LUMEA winds up.

SCINTEIA Supports Reevaluation of 1968

AU0712100389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0827 GMT 7 Dec 89

["Firm Rejection of Any Interference in the Domestic Affairs of Peoples"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 07/12/1989—Today's SCINTEIA carries an article on the declaration of the leaders of Bulgaria, GDR, Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union issued on 4 December on the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia which assesses the sending of troops into Czechoslovak territory as "interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign Czechoslovakia which should be condemned".

It is well known, SCINTEIA writes, that early in the morning of 21 August 1968, the day of the armed intervention of the five socialist countries in Czechoslovakia, Nicolae Ceausescu told a big rally in Republic Square: "the entrance of the troops of the five socialist countries into Czechoslovakia is a big mistake and a serious threat to peace in Europe, to the fate of socialism in the world. It is inconceivable in the world today when peoples are rising to defend their national independence, to fight for equality of rights, that the liberty and independence of a state should be violated by a socialist state, by socialist states. Nothing can justify, no motive can make even for one moment the idea of military intervention in the affairs of a brotherly socialist state acceptable".

At the same time it is shown that, given the many implications of the armed intervention in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Grand National Assembly, our country's highest law-making body, which met in an extraordinary session the next day, adopted a declaration that restated the principles guiding Romania in its international activity which have always been the basis of its relations with the other socialist countries, with all the countries of the world.

The re-evaluation, in the current international circumstances, of the 1968 action of the five socialist countries against Czechoslovakia, the article in SCINTEIA goes on, is an act of justice, albeit belated, but also an opportunity for deep reflection and a lesson for the present and the future.

Starting from the declaration of the five states, which openly admits that the entrance of their troops into Czechoslovakia was unjustified and illegal, it is only right and normal that the governments of the USSR and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic should open negotiations on the Soviet troops withdrawal from that country.

Thinking about the position promptly taken by the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] in August 1968, the article shows, we must stress that it was an expression of the thorough renewal that the Ninth Party Congress had ushered in socialist construction since 1965, of the renunciation of the set patterns, and of the "single model", of a continuing improvement of the forms and methods of socioeconomic management. A salient feature of this policy is the full respect for the right of each people to develop independently, as it wishes, and at the same time the firm rejection of any outside interference in the affairs of peoples.

In the spirit of this policy, the Romanian Communist Party always took the view that it is its highest duty and responsibility to work most firmly to strengthen national sovereignty and independence, consolidate the new socialist system, ensure Romania's firm advance on the path of socialism and communism. It is particularly obvious today that if the RCP had not had that just policy of defending and strengthening national independence, of resolutely rejecting any attempts to interfere in domestic affairs, we could not have fulfilled our great programmes of socialist development, of taking Romania to ever higher summits of civilization and progress, stresses the article in SCINTEIA which goes on:

This can be said to be one of the major conclusions that our party and state draw today from the August 1968 events in Czechoslovakia. Hence the necessity to take further steadfast action to strengthen unity of the people as a whole, the leading role of the party in the entire work of socialist construction, of development and perfection of the process of building the new system, and at the same time to always take a resolute stance of defense of national sovereignty and independence, of determined rejection of any forms of interference in the domestic affairs.

As reactionary imperialist circles have intensified their action lately, starting a true offensive on socialism in an attempt to destabilize the socialist countries, such a combative stance is all the much more necessary. More than at any other time, SCINTEIA goes on, all should be done to give a firm response to the so-called peaceful offensive of the imperialist quarters that try to appease the vigilance of peoples, to decide them and, through espionage and diversions of all kind, through gross interference in domestic affairs actually take action for the liquidation of socialism, for a return to the old capitalist order based on exploitation and oppression.

Hence the necessity for the revolutionary parties of the working class, the socialist countries to strengthen their cooperation and solidarity, to take firm action to defend and develop socialism, against the action of the imperialist circles, of all actions of destabilizing socialism.

The stance of the RCP is now as clear as ever, the article in SCINTEIA winds up: we will promote also in the future in all firmness a policy of defense and development of socialism, of strengthening national sovereignty and independence, of rejection of all interference in our home affairs. From this stance, our people, closely united round the party, round its general secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is determined to cooperate broadly with all peoples, with the anti-imperialist democratic parties and forces everywhere that stand and work for socialist development, for peace and progress, for a better and more just world.

Daily Rejects Accords Between Superpowers

AU0112174289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1503 GMT 1 Dec 89

["Respect for the Peoples' Sovereign Options an Essential Prerequisite for Peace"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] In the current international circumstances the questions of peace and disarmament as well as all the other world problems which affect many peoples cannot be left in the hand of the big powers as they must be an object of general consensus, starting with respect for the point of view of all states and peoples. To decide on behalf of countries and peoples without consulting them was a well-known practice in the post-war period, its negative effects being still felt today, "SCINTEIA" shows in its 1 December issue highlighting that such attempts are energetically rejected by peoples that justifiably consider them maneuvres incompatible with their interests of peace, freedom and progress. Ever more aware of the noxious character of secret diplomacy, the peoples state for the active participation of all countries, whatever their economic and military potential, in the debate and resolution of international issues, in harmony with the interests of all nations.

In assessing like problems Romania's stance is characterized by political realism. So, assessing the Soviet-American accord on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles as a positive step, President Nicolae Ceausescu also underlined its modest dimensions, viewing it as "a drop in the nuclear arms ocean," implicitly warning over an exaggerated optimism, over an unjustified state of euphoria. Instead of continuing to yield more substantial results, the nuclear disarmament process has been affected by the NATO projects of modernizing short-range land-based and tactical missiles. The competition of strategic nuclear missiles has not stopped, the plan to militarize the space continues, and the nuclear tests on special sites in various parts of the world add further lethal doses to the worlds air and waters. Moreover, the North Atlantic alliance openly asserts it will continue to rely on the discredited "nuclear deterrence" strategy.

Facts prove thus the justness of the viewpoint of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] according to which as long as nuclear weapons are maintained and developed, the danger of a planetary disaster persists.

Certainly, the negotiated settlement of world problems and conflicts requires a sense of understanding as well as concessions acceptable to both sides, a realistic policy apt to take into account the interests of each nation and the general interests of peoples. In RCP's opinion this should not lead to principle concessions apt to run counter to the peoples' major interests, because socialism, economic and social progress, the freedom and independence of peoples are not negotiable. It is inconceivable that peoples' outstanding achievements, like the gains of socialism and national independence, obtained after long fights by tremendous sacrifice become money of exchange. Under no circumstance and for no reason should they be an object of negotiations. For no reason can the social system in one country or another be questioned, and in no way can the peoples' free socioeconomic development be stopped.

The advocates of the "desideologization" of international relations, circulated of late, tries to accredit the idea that, with the perspective of a nuclear confrontation which would mean the annihilation of mankind, the ideological fight, the class struggle between the two differing sociopolitical systems should be given up, making any concession to avoid a potential disaster. The essential contradiction between socialism and capitalism is thus ignored and so is the fact that certain Western circles, unable to accept differing sociopolitical systems, unfold a virulent campaign of destabilizing some socialist countries. Claiming the need to ensure mankind's survival and safeguard peace by avoiding a generalized conflagration, the idea is disseminated to give up the peoples' fundamental options and gains.

In the RCP's opinion, the claim for essential concessions in the name of ensuring peace is all the more unacceptable as the price required accounts for supreme, inalienable values. Nobody could ignore such tremendous changes occurred in Europe, for instance, where countries with different sociopolitical systems, big, medium-sized and small states, belonging to the two great military-political groupings or neutral countries coexist. So, peace in Europe can be conceived only as a peace wherein the states' historical options should be observed, a peace underlain by the rigorous observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights and mutual advantage, by noninterference in internal affairs and renunciation of the use and threat of force.

Though the nuclear countries, more particularly the two nuclear powers are mainly responsible for nuclear disarmament, still the European and the other states of the world should take an active part in the achievement of an accord on the elimination of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of any means of mass destruction.

So, the states of the two military alliances the Warsaw Treaty and NATO should give up any modernization of nuclear weapons and conclude a general accord on the complete elimination of nuclear weapons till the year 2000. In the context, Romania advanced the proposal for a general agreement, with the participation of all European countries, on the elimination of all nuclear weapons from Europe till 1995, "SCINTEIA" shows.

Ceausescu Receives Credentials of U.S. Ambassador

AU0612191989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 6 Dec 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives the Ambassador of the United States of America on Presenting his Credentials"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/12/1989—On Wednesday, December 6, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Alan Green Jr., who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of America in Romania.

Handing over his letters of credence, Ambassador Alan Green Jr. conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a salute and the Romanian people wishes of happiness and welfare on behalf of U.S. President George Bush and of the American people.

In his address, the ambassador highlighted the traditional relations between the two countries and showed that possibilities were in place for their further development, more particularly, in the economic, scientific and cultural areas.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed a salute to President George Bush and wishes of happiness and prosperity to the American people.

In his address, the Romanian head of state showed that working for the fulfilment of the Romanian people's aspirations after freedom and independence, progress and prosperity and rejecting all forms of outside interference in its domestic affairs, Romania takes an active part in the international life, in the resolution of the serious, intricate issues facing contemporary mankind.

Pointing out that Romania firmly sets its relations with all the states on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, the president showed that those relations would see broad development in the future if realism was shown and action was taken in the spirit of the accords regulating the relations between Romania and the U.S.A. Expressing the belief, that the new ambassador's activity would contribute to the development of collaboration between the two countries, President Nicolae Ceausescu assured him of the full support of the State Council and of the government, as well as of his personal support.

The credentials presentation ceremony and talk conducted on the occasion were attended by Ion Stoian,

minister of foreign affairs, and Dumitru Apostoiu, presidential and State Council secretary.

DPRK Foreign Minister Meets With Officials

AU0612192189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1802 GMT 6 Dec 89

["Romanian Visit by the Vice-Premier of the Administration Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 6/12/1989—Over December 1-6, 1989, Kim Yong-nam, vice-premier of the Administration Council, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, paid an official visit to Romania upon an invitation by Romanian Foreign Minister Ion Stoian.

During their talk, full satisfaction was expressed at the ascending course of the relations between Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and so was the mutual wish to expand the political dialogue, to intensify and diversify cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields and in other areas of mutual interest, in line with the understandings reached during the meetings between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il- song.

Extensive opinions were exchanged on the international situation. The two ministers highlighted the determination of the two countries to intensify their collaboration and solidarity in the fight for a more powerful assertion of the principles of socialism, against any action taken by imperialist circles in an attempt at interfering in the domestic affairs of other peoples, at destabilizing the situation in the socialist countries and in other parts of the world.

During his stay in Romania the guest visited economic, social and cultural units, as well as urban amenities in Bucharest and Brasov.

Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister of Romania, met with Kim Yong-nam, vice-premier of the Administration Council, minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who paid an official visit to Romania.

During their talk, emphasis was placed on the Romanian-Korean links of close friendship and collaboration and the mutual wish was expressed to continuously develop commercial exchanges and economic, technical and scientific cooperation, for the benefit of the two friendly countries and peoples.

The Korean guest also met Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania.

Ceausescu Message to SFRY on Mine Accident

AU0412141389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Nov 89 p 11

[Condolence message from President Nicolae Ceausescu to SFRY President Janez Drnovsek on mine accident—date not given]

[Text] To Comrade Janez Drnovsek, SFRY President, Belgrade:

I have heard with deep sorrow about the accident in the Aleksinac mine, which caused the loss of a large number of miners' lives.

On behalf of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of the Romanian people, and on my own behalf, I convey to you sincere condolences and I beg you to convey our feelings of profound compassion to the bereaved families.

Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

SCINTEIA on Hungary's Foreign Debt

AU0412214989

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 23 November on page 11, under the headline "Hungary's Foreign Debt Has Reached Enormous Proportions and Is a Great Burden," carries a 300-word AGERPRES report, quoting the Hungarian Press Agency MTI, on the statements by Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth regarding Hungary's foreign debt. SCINTEIA mentions that in his report to the Hungarian National Assembly session, Nemeth said that "attempts to achieve democracy in the economy have failed," and that "everybody understands that our country's foreign debt has reached enormous proportions and is a great burden for the whole country." The premier is quoted as saying that "from 1971 to 1979 Hungary's foreign debt was $9 billion," while "the amount of the country's foreign debt at the end of this year will reach, and will even exceed, $20 billion, and the net debt will exceed $14 billion."

SCINTEIA refrains from commenting on this situation and only quotes MTI, concluding its report with Nemeth's statement that "at the end of 1989, the total budget deficit will be 1,100 billion forint."

UN Resolution Condemns 'Economic Constraint'

AU0512184689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1727 GMT 5 Dec 89

["The UN Endorses a Romanian-Sponsored Resolution"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] United Nations, AGERPRES, 5/12/1989—The Economic and Financial Committee of the UN General Assembly endorsed a resolution that blames the use of economic measures as a means of political and economic

constraint against the developing countries, sponsored by Romania and the other "Group of 77" countries. The document highlights the deep concern of most of the states of the world over the intensification—in the most diverse forms—of measures of political and economic constraint to which the developed states resort against the developing countries in order to prevent them from exercising their sovereign rights to free and independent development, along the paths chosen by their own peoples.

The document calls on the developed states to refrain from exercising constraint or any other form of interference in the internal affairs of other countries with a view to making changes in their political and social system, in their home and foreign policy. Blockades, embargoes, commercial and financial restrictions and any other sanctions and measures of economic and political constraint against the developing countries, which are incompatible with the UN Charter and with the duties assumed under international treaties and conventions, are also condemned.

The resolution stresses that the recourse to like actions bear highly negatively on the developing countries' efforts for their own economic and social development, also affecting adversely the world economic situation.

In that context, the UN secretary-general is requested to make an in-depth analyses of the forms of constraint which the developed countries employ against the developing countries. With such analyses as a basis, the UN General Assembly should be periodically informed of the situation created so that corresponding actions may be agreed upon.

The resolution, together with other documents discussed by the current General Assembly session—such as those related to the chart of the states' economic rights and duties, the inverse transfer of resources from the developing to the developed countries, the foreign-debt burden, the liquidation of poverty and others—bespeaks a concern to eradicate underdevelopment, find a comprehensive solution to the developing countries' foreign-debt problem, surmount the serious issues in the world economy and secure all peoples' economic and social progress.

Delegate Addresses UN on Middle East Issues

AU0512172989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1524 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] United Nations (AGERPRES) 5/12/1989—Taking the floor during the debates in the plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly on the Middle East situation and the Palestinian question, attended by numerous delegations representative for all geographical regions, Romania's permanent representative to the UN showed that his country had most firmly been for the elimination of the use and threat of force from the international life, and an exclusively peaceful settlement of all conflicts and litigious issues in various parts of the world.

He set forth President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook and proposals for a global just and durable solution in the Middle East, for the calling, to that end, of a UN-sponsored international conference to be attended by all the sides concerned, the permanent members of the Security Council included. The speaker stressed that under the circumstances it was more necessary than ever to step up efforts to call such an international conference and give priority to an undelayed creation of a preparatory committee apt to take the due measure for its convening.

At the level of the Security Council, a body that has to fulfil a major role in the calling of such an international conference, he said, everything possible should be done to eliminate the obstacles still persisting in taking this action. The Security Council must use its authority in the settlement of the Middle East conflict that menaces peace and security worldwide, the address pointed out.

In conclusion the speaker stated that Romania was determined to support the UN actions so as to help a global and lasting solution of the Middle East questions, the establishment of a just peace in the area, and the consolidation of peace, security and cooperation in the world.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 18 Nov-1 Dec

AU0312164989

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 18 November-1 December period (sources of each report given in parentheses):

Nicolae Ceausescu presented the report to the 14th RCP Congress in Bucharest on 20 November. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0720 GMT 20 Nov 89)

Elena Ceausescu addressed the 14th RCP Congress in Bucharest on 21 November (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 21 Nov 89).

On 21 November, he met with foreign delegates to the RCP Congress. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 21 Nov 89) The same day, Ceausescu met with the Soviet delegate to the RCP Congress Vitaliy Vorotnikov (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 180 GMT 21 Nov); with the Pakistani Delegate to the congress (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1958 GMT 21 Nov 89); with the SFRY delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1931 GMT 21 Nov 89); with the Israeli delegate Aliazar Granot (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 21 Nov 89); with the Chinese delegate Qiao Shi (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1918 GMT 21 Nov 89); with the Egyptian delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1954 GMT 21 Nov 89); with the Afghan delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1943 GMT 21 Nov

89); with the Ethiopian delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1939 GMT 21 Nov 89); with the Czech delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 21 Nov 89); and with International Cooperative official Lars Marcus (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2155 GMT 21 Nov 89)

Ion Dinca, member of the Political Executive Committee [PEC], and Nicu Ceausescu, PEC candidate member, addressed the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], in Bucharest on 22 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1100 GMT 22 Nov 89)

On 22 November, Ceausescu received the delegate of the Bulgarian Communist Party Yotov (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 22 Nov 89); the Yemen Socialist Party delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 22 Nov 89); the Vietnamese Communist Party delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1955 GMT 22 Nov 89); the Lao delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2008 GMT 22 Nov 89); Israeli Communist Party delegate Burstein (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2013 GMT 22 Nov 89); the Iraqi delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 22 Nov 89); the DPRK delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1901 GMT 22 Nov 89); the Cuban delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 22 Nov 89); the Israeli Labor Party Delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2335 GMT 22 Nov 89); the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2340 GMT 22 Nov 89); and the Syrian delegate (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 22 Nov 89).

On 23 November, Ceausescu gave an interview to the FRG ARD radio-television station (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1716 GMT 23 Nov 89), met with various African, Middle East, and Far East delegates to the RCP Congress (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2342 GMT 23 Nov 89), met with the Japanese delegate to the RCP Congress (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2355 GMT 23 Nov 89), and also met with the SED delegate to the RCP Congress. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0745 GMT 24 Nov 89).

PEC Member Emil Bobu addressed the RCP Congress on 23 November. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 23 Nov 89).

Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu met with DPRK counterpart in Bucharest on 24 November (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2112 GMT 24 Nov 89). On 21 November, he addressed the RCP Congress (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1100 GMT 21 Nov 89).

The following addressed the RCP Congress on 22 November: Gheorghe David, PEC candidate member (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 22 Nov 89); Miu Dobrescu, PEC member. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1836 GMT 22 Nov 89); Marin Enache, minister of metallurgical industry (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2108 GMT 22 Nov 89); Barbu Petrescu, PEC member, (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1906 GMT 22 Nov 89); Stefan Rab, PEC candidate member (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2054 GMT 22 Nov 89); Manea Manescu, PEC member, (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0800 GMT 22 Nov 89). On 24 November, during a 6-minute live relay, Manescu announced that Ceausescu had been reelected as RCP secretary general.

The following addressed the RCP Congress on 23 November: Vasile Milea, PEC candidate member (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1313 GMT 24 Nov 89); Ana Muresan, PEC candidate member, (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1659 GMT 23 Nov 89); Ion Stoian, PEC candidate member, (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1015 GMT 24 Nov 89); Ioan Toma, PEC candidate member and first secretary of the Union of Communist Youth, (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1847 GMT 23 Nov 89); Gheorghe Oprea, PEC member, (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 89). Oprea also attended an SFRY Embassy reception on the National Day of that country, in Bucharest on 28 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1838 GMT 28 Nov 89).

On 24 November, Ceausescu delivered his concluding speech to the RCP Congress. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1034 GMT 24 Nov 89). On the same day, Ceausescu received American delegations to the RCP Congress (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 24 Nov 89), a group of European delegations (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0030 GMT 24 Nov 89) and the Zairian delegate to the Congress. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0742 GMT 24 Nov 89). Also on 24 November, Ceausescu addressed a reception for foreign delegates (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1834 GMT 24 Nov 89) and addressed the crowd from the balcony of the RCP Central Committee Headquarters. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1208 GMT 24 Nov).

Ion Radu, PEC member and deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government, attended a Zaire Embassy reception on that country's National Day, on 23 November in Bucharest (Bucharest SCINTEIA 24 Nov 89 p 12) and attended a Polish Embassy reception given by the departing Polish ambassador at the end of his mission, on 28 November in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1909 GMT 28 Nov 89).

Gheorghe Radulescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council, presented condolences at the Lebanese Embassy on the death of president Rene Mu'awad, in Bucharest on 27 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1629 GMT 27 Nov 89)

Ludovic Fazekas, PEC member and deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government, attended a Mongolian Embassy reception on that country's national day, in Bucharest on 27 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1941 GMT 27 Nov 89)

On 29 November, Ceausescu received the departing Polish ambassador. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1752 GMT 29 Nov 89). The same day, Ceausescu visited industrial

enterprises and scientific research institutes in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1957 GMT 29 Nov 89).

PEC Member Barbu Petrescu and PEC Candidate Member Stefan Andrei attended an Albanian Embassy reception on that country's National Day. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1829 GMT 29 Nov 89)

On 1 December, Ceausescu received the departing Indian ambassador (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1809 GMT 1 Dec 89) and the departing Swedish ambassador. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 1 Dec 89). The same day, Ceausescu chaired and addressed a PEC meeting in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1923 GMT 1 Dec 89).

Drnovsek Concludes Visit to FRG, Comments

Meets With Mischnik

LD0512212189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1549 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, December 5 (TANJUG)—As Europe is seeking to establish a single currency, Yugoslavia's striving must be for a convertible dinar as a means of economic opening and integration into international trends, President of the State Presidency Janez Drnovsek told leader of the Bundestag Free Democratic Party Wolfgang Mischnik during their meeting here last night.

Asked whether it was true that "some parts of Yugoslavia" were planning to introduce a new, separate currency, Drnovsek replied—according to sources in the visiting Yugoslav delegation—that a currency other than the dinar was out of the question.

The denial related to an article recently published by the youth weekly MLADINA of Ljubljana, the capital of Yugoslavia's Republic of Slovenia.

Speaking of plans for Yugoslavia's economic and political reform, Drnovsek stressed financial discipline as a prerequisite for curbing inflation. This implies that the National Bank of Yugoslavia should truly become an independent institution in charge of autonomously conducting monetary policy, he said.

Exchanges Toasts With Kohl

LD0612071489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1817 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Janez Drnovsek, president of the Yugoslav State Presidency, today came out in favor of further advancing comprehensive bilateral cooperation and of joint efforts in building a new type of relations in Europe.

In his toast at a luncheon given to honor the Yugoslav guest, whom he greeted and described as the representative of the partner-country in developing the Europe of tomorrow and "in light of its position as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, the bearer of global responsibility," Kohl stressed today, at the time of "fundamental transformations," Bonn "highly appreciates Yugoslavia's irreplaceable role in the region and in the efforts for stability in Europe."

Having noted that "traditionally good German-Yugoslav relations are also an important element of European stability," Kohl went on to emphasize "the continuing ascending trend in bilateral economic relations."

He said by modernizing its economic structure and opening up to the world market Yugoslavia is creating a favorable framework, reflected in an increase in joint investment.

Kohl expressed his firm belief the Yugoslav economy would succeed in adjusting itself to the EC's single market at the beginning of 1993. He stressed further that Bonn would continue to involve itself in furthering Yugoslavia's cause with the Twelve.

Chancellor Kohl said the "new peace trends in evidence in Europe also include a politically, economically, and socially stable Yugoslavia." He drew particular attention to Drnovsek's statement at the UN General Assembly autumn session and specifically the part that speaks about the opportunities of realizing fundamental rights and freedoms as criteria of the degree of a society's democratization.

Basic reform laws have been passed in your country, or are about to be passed. Political pluralism is beginning to be articulated in certain parts of the country. Progress is being made on the reform of the criminal law, the aim of which is a law-governed state, the West German chancellor said.

Kohl welcomed Yugoslavia's intention to cooperate more closely with the EC and expressed his belief that Yugoslavia, with its foreign policy directed toward equilibrium in the region, takes its European responsibility into account. He added that Yugoslavia has an active role in the all-European process of working toward security and cooperation, in which "Yugoslavia represents the stances of the neutral and nonaligned."

Speaking about the FRG's stand that on the basis of "free self- determination, it should achieve unity and a free Germany," Kohl emphasized that Bonn's aim is to contribute to the "organic replacement of division in Europe." In this context he rejected any "retrograde, narrow-minded nationalism" and stressed the FRG's firm roots in the Western alliance.

At the end of his toast, Kohl gave great credit to Yugoslavia for its "constructive role" in the Nonaligned Movement, and said that at the summit meeting, the Nonaligned Movement decided on a direction leading to a world without conflict. He expressed his readiness to strengthen the dialogue with the Movement's members.

President Drnovsek said in his toast that West German-Yugoslav relations were "very good, multifaceted, dynamic, and very substantial." Noting the developed economic cooperation, he expressed satisfaction that "the process of joint investment had gotten underway," and that Yugoslavia, with the support of its West German partners, had become involved in several projects within the framework of the European "Eureka" scientific research program.

Drnovsek stressed the importance of contacts and ties between the two countries' citizens and recalled in this regard that with the opening of their borders 20 years ago, Yugoslavia and the FRG had anticipated the later process of the CSCE. "The guaranteeing and broadening

of citizens's rights to free communication is an imperative of the present age and an important obligation for us," he said.

Welcoming the "latest dynamic development" in international relations, Drnovsek warned that vacillations between West and East can still not be completely ruled out. He stressed that as a European and nonaligned country, Yugoslavia wishes to contribute as effectively as possible to the solution of the numerous international problems, particularly economic ones.

In this context, Drnovsek noted that the problem of over-indebtedness of a large number of nonaligned and other developing countries was one of the most difficult problems. He stressed that Yugoslavia believes "the detente between East and West must be extended to world economic relations. Otherwise, it may be seriously jeopardized by the North-South economic crisis."

"This is why the nonaligned countries are insisting, on the basis not only of their own, but also of the interests of the developed world, on the creation of conditions that would make possible the economic growth of the debtor-countries without which, of course, they will not be in a position to repay their debts," he said.

Drnovsek welcomed the opening of communications between the two Germanies and stressed that Yugoslavia "deeply respects the emotive, human dimension" of that process for the citizens of both German states and sincerely hopes that the new climate would be permanent on the European continent.

Yugoslavia, as a European country, has a vital interest in participating in and contributing to all these trends, particularly the integrational processes, Drnovsek stressed, expressing the belief that Yugoslavia would in this regard have the support of the FRG in the future.

Drnovsek noted in conclusion that with the aim of realizing such aspirations, Yugoslavia "is bringing to a conclusion economic reforms on market bases and a broad social transformation aimed at further democratization and strengthening of the position, rights and freedoms of the individual in society."

Talks With CDU's Dregger

LD0612185389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—Events in Germany, Yugoslavia, and Europe were discussed this morning at a meeting held between Jadndez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Dr Alfred Dreggar, head of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] parliamentary group.

As reported by the West German side, Drnovsek pointed out that for Yugoslavia to overcome its difficult situation it was of decisive importance to strengthen its ties with the European Community.

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who also took part in the talks, is reported to have expressed gratitude for the support Yugoslavia has been getting so far from the CDU, the leader of which, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, expressed hope that it would be the same in connection with Yugoslavia establishing closer ties with the European Community.

Comments on Yugoslavs in FRG

LD0612234289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, today expressed the conviction that the status and position of 600,000 Yugoslavs in the FRG will not be altered.

Asked at a press conference in Bonn whether he is afraid that immigrants from the GDR will present a threat to Yugoslav workers, Drnovsek said that the position of our citizens in West Germany is an issue to which Yugoslavia attaches great significance.

The Yugoslav president pointed out the "very good" relations between the two countries and recalled that the FRG "has so far had very good experience with Yugoslavs employed in the FRG," so that there should be no worsening of their position.

Deems Visit 'Extremely Successful'

AU0612171789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] We have received a recording of the statement SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek made about his visit to the FRG.

[Begin Drnovsek recording] Our visit was extremely successful. We had talks with our German partners who are the highest German leaders, about questions pertaining to modern Europe, changes, and the possibility of Yugoslavia joining European integration currents. We enjoy full support by the German side in this respect.

We also talked about bilateral relations which are very developed now. Our German partners are ready for further (?activities) and facilities to help our bilateral cooperation develop. Therefore, we have made great progress even in specific economic matters and I think that this is very successful. [end recording]

Toasts Von Weizsaecker

LD0612183789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and the FRG came out in favor of a further advancement of mutual relations and supported overcoming of divisions in Europe.

This a common note from short toasts exchanged in the course of the lunch hosted today by FRG President

Richard von Weizsaecker, at the end of the 3-day visit of Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency. Mutual satisfaction with results of the exchange of views were expressed in the toasts.

Von Weizsaecker, as it has been learned in West German circles, emphasized that he follows the constitutional and economic reforms in Yugoslavia with interest and sympathy.

He also noted the FRG's interest in the survival, consolidation, and strengthening of Yugoslavia as a factor for stability in the region and in Europe, and as a leader of the Nonaligned Movement. Within that context, he welcomed closer economic cooperation and the establishment of a political dialogue between Yugoslavia and the European Community.

Drnovsek, according to Yugoslav sources, stressed that FRG's support is very important for Yugoslavia. "We believe that the future of European cooperation is our common concern, and that it will depend on a further spread of democratic and integration processes, and especially on bridging the technological gap between northern and southern Europe," he said.

Noting that more than 600,000 Yugoslavs, with the reputation for being "disciplined and qualified workers," are living in the FRG and that a million German tourists come to Yugoslavia each year, Drnovsek stressed that "our citizens' freedom of movement enriches our overall relations" and that it is an expression "of a general process of democratization of relations on the European Continent, which all of us advocate."

Holds News Conference in Bonn

LD0612231889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—According to Janez Drovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, the FRG is ready to support Yugoslav efforts in establishing closer ties with the European Community and to improve bilateral economic cooperation.

Today, before the end of his 3-day visit to Bonn, Drnovsek held a press conference at which he said that he had gotten this impression from talks with FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and other high-ranking West German officials.

Assessing his visit as "very successful," Drnovsek said that he had told his collocutors, among other things, that Yugoslavia was interested in full membership in the Council of Europe and EFTA [European Free Trade Association], as well as associate membership in the EEC.

Adding that he also had acquainted his collocutors with the process of reforms in Yugoslavia, which should make it possible to achieve "full compatibility of Yugoslavia with European and world partners," the president said that he included curbing inflation and stimulating economic growth among the most important aims of the policy of the Yugoslav Government.

In response to the question of whether he received the impression that the West German Government was ready for political, apart from economic, assistance to Yugoslavia, Drnovsek said that he had observed that his collocutors had been greatly interested in preserving the political stability of Yugoslavia as a significant factor of stability in Europe.

In response to the question of whether he has faced anxiety over the possibility that Yugoslavia could disintegrate, as predicted by a section of the press in Germany, Drnovsek said that "the balance between the Yugoslav republics at this juncture has been temporarily upset" and that "we are making every effort, at least the federal leadership," for this balance to be restored.

Drnovsek expressed the principled conviction that intranational conflicts were connected with a long-lasting economic and political crisis in Yugoslavia, and that the successful implementation of the economic program would play a role in decreasing tensions. "Economic activities will replace the present irrationalities," he stressed.

"Under irrationalities, I mean nationalism and national emotions put before economic reforms," said Drnovsek, elaborating his thought at the request of journalists.

Asked whether "he would withdraw because Serbia had declared war on him," Drnovsek said that "with us there are differences, as in every country." "I will continue with the efforts invested so far to strengthen Yugoslavia as a modern democratic state that respects human rights and with the orientation toward the market economy," he said.

Stressing at the same time that "of course, equality of all nations and nationalities should be insured," Drnovsek said that "those who do not agree with all this will continue to criticize me."

In response to the question of what will happen when a "Serb who will probably, or certainly, represent Serbian interests" takes his place, Drnovsek said that he could not predict what would happen in the future, but he hoped that Yugoslavia would complete changes successfully and find a minimum of tolerance and constructive dialogue."

Asked to comment whether he believed that it was possible in Yugoslavia to establish the institution of a state president above the idea of belonging to a particular nationality, as in West Germany the head of the state was not linked to a particular party, Drnovsek said that the collective Yugoslav Presidency was based on the equitable representation of all republics and provinces.

"This specific form of leading a country has certain advantages and some disadvantages, I believe that this

organ will continue with its efforts to overcome national differences and realize political reforms," he said.

Asked how he assessed the plan put forward by Chancellor Kohl consisting of 10 points for the establishment of the German federation, Drnovsek said that this was a "logical program," because it started from the present differences between the two German states, but that the German integration could be realized only within the framework of European integration, and not in the context of situations from the past, of 50 years ago.

It is too early to speak of the forms of unification because the people in the two states themselves will decide on them, Drnovsek said stressing that the integration of Germany would imply "a definitive reduction in bloc tensions, which would also mean an abolition of the blocs, which Yugoslavia has always favored."

Ends Visit

LD0612195389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, Dec 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany both wish the further promotion of mutual relations and support the overcoming of divisions in Europe. This was underscored today in Bonn in toasts at a lunch which West German President Richard von Weizsaecker gave in honour of Yugoslav State Presidency President, Dr Janez Drnovsek, at the end of his official three-day visit to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Weizsaecker said that his country is interested in Yugoslavia remaining a factor of stability in the region and Europe, and continuing to lead the Non-aligned Movement. He applauded closed economic ties and the opening of a political dialogue between Yugoslavia and the European Community (E.C.). He also underscored that he was following the constitutional and economic reforms in Yugoslavia with interest and sympathies.

Drnovsek, for his part, underscored the importance of West German support to Yugoslavia and expressed certainty that the future of European Cooperation was a common concern.

Drnovsek said that the future of Europe would depend on the trend of democratic and intergation processes, and especially on the ability to bridge the gap in technologies development between northern and southern Europe.

The Yugoslav State Presidency president also mentioned that 600,000 Yugoslavs live and work in the Federal Republic of Germany and that about one million West German tourists visit Yugoslavia every year.

Drnovsek underlined that the freedom of movements of the two countries' citizens enhances general relations and is a reflection of a general process of democratization in the continent, he said.

Statement After Visit

LD0612223889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2010 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Germany with much understanding accepted Yugoslavia's proposals to join more actively in the European Economic Community and promised its support at the meeting of the heads of state and government of the twelve in Strassbourg, Yugoslav Presidency President Janez Drnovsek said here on Wednesday.

The EC summit has been scheduled for December 8 and 9.

Upon his return from a three-day working visit to West Germany, Drnovsek said bilateral cooperation is already well-developed and both sides are greatly interested in its further promotion.

Also discussed were some concrete expansion forms, for example bigger West German loans to Yugoslavia, he added.

Asked how West Germany views the current events in Yugoslavia, Drnovsek said that during talks with leading West German officials it was apparent they are well-informed about the Yugoslav situation, so that they asked a number of concrete questions.

The West German hosts said they [word indistinct] in a stable Yugoslavia and its overcoming the present crisis. They underscored, however, that Yugoslavia's stability is one of the crucial elements for European stability.

The West Germans also expressed interest in aiding us although it is clear that the key to a solution lies in our own hands, Drnovsek said.

Joint Croat-Albanian Demonstration in FRG

AU0112123789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Nov 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Anti-Yugoslav Demonstrations in the FRG"]

[Text] Stuttgart, 25 Nov—Extremist Croat and Albanian emigres demonstrated today in the center of the West German city of Stuttgart, demanding that Yugoslavia be dissolved.

Between 400-500 people took part in the demonstration, which was jointly organized by the so-called "Croatian National Council" and the "League of Albanian Loyalty." They carried slogans calling for "a life for Albanians within their ethnic borders," and "a free Croatia through self-determination."

They also carried Albanian flags and tricolors with a red and white checked field in the center. Speeches demanded, among other things, that the FRG should break off relations with "terrorist Yugoslavia."

Comments on Krenz, SED Central Committee Fall

AU0612214089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The resignation of the top leadership and the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany speaks most clearly about the depth of the crisis in the GDR, but also about serious discord between the party's grassroots and its leadership. Here is Branislav Canak:

When Egon Krenz came to the head of the party in the middle of October, some observers predicted that he would not have a long term. His political pedigree, his status as Honecker's favorite, and his schooling in Moscow during the notorious period of stagnation, as well as the vocabulary and content of his first public speeches, have pointed in that direction.

Everything looked as if Krenz's role would be to fill the interregnum between Honecker and some other strong personality with activities that should smooth out the lined face of East German real socialism and thereby, to some extent reduce tensions.

Of course, nobody could have known then that Krenz's temporariness meant being so temporary and that he would have to step down after only 1 and ½ months, pulling the Politburo and the entire Central Committee down with him.

Many answers, including the explanation of Krenz's fall, can be found in the very outcome of this political drama. Krenz and the new leadership obviously proceeded from the assumption that the departure of Honecker and the small number of members of his generation, as well as the really unheard-of democratization of sociopolitical life, together with the fall of the Berlin Wall, will suffice for the party to be able to consolidate a new platform without any more losses. However, at least two calculations were wrong: first, that the reformist movement is more a reflection of events in other socialist countries, without any deeper autochthonous roots and, second, that party grassroots are relatively, that is, sufficiently distanced from the waves of changes.

The euphoria over the Wall and the easing of travel restrictions were toys that failed to serve as sufficient recompense for most GDR citizens for their accumulated discontent over much more important questions. All of these questions were given very general answers based on the premise of the cleaned-up socialism that would still rest on foundations set down long ago. The lack of a specific and realistic program was obvious and also burdened by (?false) revelations about the way things were done for decades and what a grave legacy has been left to new generations.

As regards the erroneous assumption that party grassroots are mostly immune to the epidemic of changes, it could have some far-reaching consequences for the party's future. In fact, such an assumption has not only deepened the discontent of that section of the grassroots which could not accept that changes can pass by the party itself, but it has also widened the gap between supporters of different ideological concepts of what the party should do under new circumstances. That some awareness of this danger existed in the past as well is shown by the fact that extraordinary congress was convened for the middle of December. However, it was not clear how they planned to prepare for such an important meeting in only 1 month. Therefore, the decision not to abandon that date, although it will take place in only 10 days and now there is no leadership, is even more confusing. Cynics would perhaps say that therein lies a chance to succeed. However, observed realistically, the only possible (?result) of the congress is the Hungarian experience, which does not have to mean failure.

SFRY Presidency Supports Recognizing ROK

LD2411032889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2238 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 22 (TANJUG)—The presidency of Yugoslavia today agreed that the Republic of Korea should be recognized.

Yugoslavia has never established diplomatic relations with this eastern Asian country ever since the republic was declared in 1948. However, with the state formed in the northern part of the Korean Peninsular, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Belgrade has maintained diplomatic relations from the start.

Yugoslavia and South Korea have, however, maintained and even diversified their economic cooperation, so that the volume of trade has been steadily doubling since the mid-1980's, to exceed 33 million dollars in 1988.

In the first nine months of the current year, trade reached 41 million dollars in value. It is little likely, however, that the target of 100 million dollars in mutual trade set by Korean businessmen for this year, will be attained.

After the decision of the Yugoslav collective head of state, other federal organs should tackle the task of establishing diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea 'in the near future'.

Party Presidium on Delegation to RCP Congress

AU0412113389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28-30 Nov 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "There Are Essential Differences Between LCY and RCP"]

[Text] In connection with occasional questions, critical remarks, and dilemmas voiced by some bodies of the League of Communists and some articles in connection with the message the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] had sent to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], yesterday the LCY Central Committee Presidium issued the following announcement:

The LCY Central Committee Presidium has sent a message to the 14th RCP Congress in which the LCY's principled views on the present situation and relations in the international community were presented briefly, albeit clearly and openly and, in that connection, it was pointed out that the inevitable process of building up the new image of the world as an authentic human community, demands of the contemporary socialism to carry out deep and essential changes in its social entity. Therefore, the processes of necessary reforms in individual socialist countries were assessed as positive, and it was pointed out that the LCY has unanimously decided to carry out deep economic and political reforms in our country, something which will also be the basic topic of the forthcoming congress of the Yugoslav Communists. We have also warned—with a reason again, having in mind real, existing problems—about the need for a constant and comprehensive care for the social position and affirmation of the sections of Yugoslav peoples who are living in Romania as national minorities. Our delegation expounded these views more broadly in its contacts and talks with RCP representatives, proceeding from the LCY policy and putting principled stress on individual problems, as well as expressing our discontent with, for example, the ban on entering the country issued to TANJUG correspondent and other problems which burden bilateral relations and cooperation and point to certain unacceptable behavior and undemocratic practice. The member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who was appointed by the Presidium to head the LCY delegation to the Congress, returned home after 2 days. As is known, the RCP Congress lasted 5 days and was attended by a large number of delegation of communist and socialist parties and movements. In connection with the presence of an LCY representative at the RCP Congress, it has to be pointed out that there are essential differences between the views held by the LCY and the RCP on processes in contemporary socialism, reforms, the democratization of society, the role of the party, the implementation of human rights and freedoms, and the like. However, it is also necessary to develop and establish a realistic volume of the cooperation between the two neighbors on the principles of equality, good-neighborly relations, and mutual interest, along with an open and critical dialogue.

The delegation has handed the RCP leadership an invitation for a usual level delegation to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, so there is no reason for different and untrue interpretations and guesses that appeared in some media on that occasion. An identical invitation to attend 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress has been recently sent to all communist, socialist, workers, social democratic, and other parties and liberation movements with which the LCY cooperates upon the well-known foundations despite existing differences.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium has concluded that our public had been given timely and exhaustive information on the course of the RCP congress.

Party Official Favors 'Political Pluralism'

LD2811234389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1240 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 28 (TANJUG)—Socialism in Yugoslavia does not depend only on the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), for even if the organization of Yugoslav Communists were to experience a collapse, this would not also mean a ruin of socialism in Yugoslavia, member of the top party leadership Ivica Racan said in an interview to Zagreb weekly DANAS on Tuesday.

There are similarities, but also some crucial differences, between the crises of socialism in Yugoslavia and in East European countries, said Racan.

He pointed out that Yugoslavia had avoided "imported" statist-bureaucratic dogmatization, but not also its own dogmatization.

On the forthcoming 14th Special LCY Congress, Racan doubted that at the meeting the Yugoslav Communists would manage to compensate the present lack of organized party discussion on very important questions, such as reform of the country's political and economic system.

Without a reform of the League of Communists' social role and position, there can be neither social reforms nor a renewal of socialism, said Racan.

Noting that the causes of the pragmatic, ideopolitical and cadre lagging of the LCY lie in the one-party system and the monopoly political position of communist organization, Racan stressed that political pluralism was essential both to Yugoslav society and the LCY.

Pancevski Proposed as LCY Presidium President

LD2911224789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Skopje, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—Orden Nikolovski this evening, just before the end of the 10th Macedonian LC Congress, proposed that Milan Pancevski be proposed as a possible candidate for president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium.

Jakov Lazaroski, presiding at the session, seconded the proposal and announced that the new president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee and secretary, as members of the candidates' commission of the 14th congress, will announce this proposal.

LCY Discusses Congress Agenda Topics

LD0612025889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2129 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), primarily its leadership, has been chiefly responsible for the profound social and economic crisis in the country. For this reason, communists in the party organization of the federal

organs and organizations will demand that political decisions and actions after the forthcoming, 14th special congress of the LCY, [words indistinct] the processes of disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of the LCY, it was said at today's special conference of this big party organization.

President of this party organization Nikola Markovic said that the membership believed that political pluralism in Yugoslavia was inevitable and urged full freedom of political association. He added, however, that they believed that the pluralism of interests should not be reduced to a multi-party model, but, rather, that the highest values of the multi-party system should be incorporated in a political pluralism within the frontal organization of socialist alliance.

The tolerant attitude to the demonstrations by Albanians and the banning of the planned rally of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Ljubljana (capital of the Republic of Slovenia), is a form of support for the separatist movement in Kosovo (one of Yugoslavia's two autonomous provinces within the republic of Serbia), and breaking off of economic or other relations between two republics hampers economic and social reforms in the country, it was assessed at the conference.

Secretary of the Federal Government Zoran Miskovic reiterated that, in connection with the situation created between Serbia and Slovenia, the government would firmly demand that the Yugoslav Constitution be respected and federal laws applied in the entire territory of Yugoslavia. He further said that the federal government would not wait for the adoption of a new constitution but would launch an intiative for the adoption in an emergency procedure of constitutional amendments to specify security matters at federal level and strengthen the authority of the federal government regarding the republics and provinces.

Drnovsek VECERNJE NOVOSTI Interview

AU3011134689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28, 29, 30 Nov 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, by Milos Miljkovic, editor of VECERNJE NOVOSTI; date and place not given: "New Constitution—Agreement on Joint Living"]

[Text] Soon, or to be more precise, at the beginning of December, the working group will conclude its job and the SFRY Presidency will have consultations with the presidencies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces on the text of the proposal to proceed with the work on changing the SFRY Constitution before this proposal is definitively adopted, and before it is forwarded to the SFRY Assembly by, we hope, the end of December. I must stress that we are not talking about the draft of changes to the constitution, because the draft is not prepared by the SFRY Presidency. I would also like to point out that the SFRY Presidency holds the view that this work must be accompanied by the efforts of all people to calm the situation and create an atmosphere of tolerance in the country. The speed of adopting the new constitution, which can only be adopted through a general consensus rather than under the conditions of mutual quarrels and intolerance, will depend on this.

This is how Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, answered the question of when one could expect the SFRY Presidency to offer a draft of changes to the SFRY Constitution to the SFRY Assembly delegates in his conversation with Milos Miljkovic, editor of VECERNJE NOVOSTI. In this interview, Drnovsek explained the role of the SFRY Presidency in the procedure concerning the changes to the SFRY Constitution and pointed out the aims of the forthcoming changes. The new Constitution should represent a new agreement on living together in the country, the basis for building a modern law-governed state in accordance with the demands of the market economy and for preventing a monopoly of the power of political factors over the economy, the president of the SFRY Presidency said, among other things. We are publishing some most interesting questions and answers from this interview.

[Miljkovic] As regards the "work on the constitution," one of the most topical and even most delicate questions is the question of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

[Drnovsek] The amendments to the Slovene Constitution were noted and remembered by the wider Yugoslav public mainly by several amendments which are said to be in contradiction with the SFRY Constitution, rather than by the extent of new shifts and the extent to which they expressed the concept of a more consistent way of shaping a modern democratic socioeconomic and political system.

As far as the controversial amendments to the Slovene Constitution are concerned, the views of some organs and institutions, as well as the SFRY Presidency, are known. Let us also wait for the views on and the assessments of contradictions, or a lack of contradiction, of the above-mentioned amendments to the SFRY Constitution.

Government and Blockage

[Miljkovic] According to some interpretations expressed in the public, at the session of the SFRY Presidency you remained alone with your view on the Slovene amendments. Were these interpretations correct?

[Drnovsek] My view was that, according to the existing SFRY Constitution, only the Constitutional Court of the SFRY is competent to pass a judgment on constitutionality. Another important element of my view was the belief that it was necessary to avoid major politicization of this question which was leading toward increasingly greater divisions in the country and increasingly greater polarization. Unfortunately, I did not succeed in this.

The atmosphere was heating up everywhere. I think that this was very damaging for our mutual relations.

It is wrong to think that such questions could be resolved by noise and outvoting others. The basic principle of our living together is mutual respect for one another. It has been demonstrated that pressure and threats produce completely opposite results. In my view the greatest separatists are those who, allegedly from the position of Yugoslav orientations, shout and threaten others instead of holding a calm, tolerant, and constructive discussion about the differences with the intention of finding a mutually acceptable solution.

[Miljkovic] You were publicly reproached for cutting short your visit to New York and for attending the festive session of the Slovene Assembly promulgating constitutional amendments. It was thought that, as the first among equals in the collective head of state, you were obliged to support the views of the SFRY Presidency.

[Drnovsek] What was involved here was not a shortening of the visit, but an anticipated opportunity of completing the program of the visit earlier, which is what in fact happened. Therefore, there was no justifiable reason for me to stay longer in New York. If I had stayed longer it could have been interpreted as a tourist visit.

As regards the second part of your question, I would like to express my view that it is quite natural for the president of the SFRY Presidency to attend a festive session of his republic's assembly promulgating constitutional changes, something that has clearly been explained in the SFRY Presidency's assessment of my visit.

I was not present during the promulgation of the amendments, but only attended the opening part of the session. Even if I had attended that part of the session, this should still not be a reason for kind of excitement that it aroused.

[Miljkovic] Since we are talking about the SFRY Presidency, what can you tell us about the work of this organ in the last 6 months?

[Drnovsek] ...Problems, difficulties which the SFRY Presidency is facing have the same roots as our general crisis. We are trying to find solutions to numerous problems through democratic and constructive dialogues. We are striving to reach as few decisions as possible through the count of votes, but this still happens.

[Miljkovic] Does the Party interfere in the work of the SFRY Presidency during its sessions, and in what way?

[Drnovsek] One cannot talk at all about any interference of the Party in the work of the SFRY Presidency. Our collective head of state is completely independent....

[Miljkovic] Does a member of the SFRY Presidency express his own views to the public, or the views of this collective organ?

[Drnovsek] ...Members of the Presidency, as political personalities, cannot be deprived of the right to express their personal views, for which they are then personally responsible.

[Miljkovic] Can divisions in the League of Communists, which are obviously hampering the work of the government, be overcome, and what do you expect from the 14th congress in this respect?

[Drnovsek] I do not agree that divisions in the League of Communists are hampering the work of the government. There have been disagreements on many questions, but the government is still carrying on.

...As regards the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, I, like all other citizens, would support the achievement of even the smallest agreement necessary to resolve outstanding questions. I believe that the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has a chance provided it displays a certain degree of prudence and tolerance. In any case, the state organs will continue to function even after the congress, regardless of its outcome.

Trust Without Repression

[Miljkovic] Albanian nationalism and separatism in Kosovo and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins are differently assessed, and the views on how this Kosovo problem should be resolved differ in Yugoslavia. How should the differences be surmounted, and how should one ensure a unified action to stop nationalism and separatism and halt emigration?

[Drnovsek] ...It is true that there are differences on the assessments, measures, and activities that have been undertaken hitherto to stabilize the situation in Kosovo. The fact that the situation has not improved shows that some measures proved to be ineffective.... I am convinced that the problems of interethnic trust and living together cannot be solved by repressive measures. The problem can only be solved gradually by recognizing two aims: First, solving the development program and all its economic and social aspects, including the birth rate problem, for which, in addition to our own expert institutions and resources, I would also engage the experts and resources of the World Bank. I think that reducing unemployment and stimulating new economic activities would in the long run reduce the importance of the national question and interethnic tensions. And second, the strict respect of the human rights of every individual, regardless of his nationality, would ensure a correct work of all state and judiciary organs. I am of the opinion that with this concept we could ensure a unified Yugoslav approach.

[Miljkovic] Our divisions between north and south are not only reflected in varying degrees of economic development. There are also evident disparities in the level of civilization and culture, and in other areas. How can we create preconditions for bridging the gap between the north and south?

[Drnovsek] Since you have mentioned difference in civilization, economy, culture, and other spheres, and the gap between the north and south, I must provide several answers.

...Reducing differences in the degree of economic development is a much more complex process than merely investing money in some region. We are in the situation where, after investing money for decades, the differences are not being reduced, but are in fact increasing. Besides, stimulating a faster economic development of undeveloped parts of our country remains our orientation, and we will try to find the ways which will resemble less and less the practice of some people giving money and other people receiving it.

As regards cultural difference, our aim has never been to reduce these differences, but to make them mutually permeate, so that they can enrich, refine one another.

[Miljkovic] What is your view on political pluralism and a multiparty system in socialist countries, and, of course, in Yugoslavia? Are those who fear that the legalization of a multi-party system would lead toward the disintegration of Yugoslavia right?

[Drnovsek] It appears that we all more or less accept political pluralism and that we should agree on the form in which this political pluralism will express itself.... Actually, we already have national parties which primarily want to represent their national interests, and only then other important issues. This means that we have the institutionalization of nationalisms, and the question is whether a multi party would even deepen them. In any case, this is an important questions which the new Constitution must answer.

Asked by VECERNJE NOVOSTI how should one reconcile economic tensions with reform orientations under the present conditions, Janez Drnovsek said, in brief, that one should first of all achieve initial results in the economy and then check inflation which would in turn reduce social tensions. At the same time this would create conditions for a tolerant discussion on further political changes.

[Miljkovic] What will happen if the program of the federal government does not go through? Do we have another alternative concept prepared?

[Drnovsek] The SFRY Presidency holds the view that it is necessary to resolutely bring down inflation. We discussed this problem on several occasions ourselves, or together with the representatives of the Federal Executive Council [FEC]. We are not currently considering an alternative concept, but are ready to fully support the FEC to resolutely tackle inflation in the near future. We expect that the FEC will come out with a very good program to check inflation and we all must create political conditions for this program to succeed. I think that this time we must succeed.

[Miljkovic] What has changed in your private life since you have become president of the SFRY Presidency?

[Drnovsek] ...I am especially sorry that at these controversial times I must pay for the status of president in terms of being subjected to various untruths and insults at my expense. They refer to both my political and private life, and demonstrate that today some people are using all possible means to achieve their political aims, and that in doing so they have fallen to the lowest level of civilization.

[Miljkovic] The Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo has burdened further an already sensitive political situation in the country by demanding to hold a meeting in Ljubljana, despite complaints and disagreement by city and republican organs in Slovenia. What is your opinion about that?

[Drnovsek] I think that this insistence on holding the meeting is very irresponsible and that—considering the situation in our country and the aggravated interethnic relations in particular—it brings a new risk of these relations deteriorating further. In that respect, this meeting is directly opposite to the efforts made by the SFRY Presidency toward improving interethnic relations in the country. If Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo think that they must discuss their changes directly with Slovenes, they can address the Slovene Socialist Alliance and, in agreement with it, organize the talks in the most suitable form. Insisting on a meeting in the form of an ultimatum calls their good intentions into question. This is why I am against the meeting, as I have already said in public. We have more important things to do in Yugoslavia today; we have been working intensively on the program of bringing down inflation, on the economic reform, on the new Constitution, and on improving interethnic relations—an important condition for all these activities— so a situation such as the one created in connection with this meeting certainly does not help us.

Calming Down the Situation Through Abrogation

[Miljkovic] The public has been informed that you are in favor of abrogating Azem Vlasi's trial. Is making such a demand just before the trial not in collision with our legal system and do you think that this move would contribute to the calming down of the situation in Kosovo?

[Drnovsek] First of all, abrogation is a constituent part of our legal system and the Presidency has the legal possibility to use that instrument. I have made my proposal on the abrogation of Vlasi's trial because many citizens from various parts of the country asked me to do so and also because I personally think that such a move might

contribute to the calming down of the Kosovo situation. The proposal was well-intentioned and not directed against Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo; on the contrary. I had the feeling that the trial of Vlasi and the group of other defendants would cause another political polarization in Kosovo and in the country, deepen the differences, and therefore even reduce the possibility of solving the situation. Unfortunately, that is exactly what has happened. I should also say that I initiated my proposal at the time when Opacic's trial was also topical. I received letters from Serbia asking me to initiate the abrogation of Opacic's trial. I initiated the question about both Vlasi and Opacic then.... I think that it is necessary that Vlasi's trial, as well as all other trials in Kosovo, whatever the people's nationality, should be carried out most correctly in order to avoid the Kosovo situation being complicated even more.

[Miljkovic] In the talks with the Serbian leadership you positively assessed the program of reform offered by this republic. How do you interpret the violent resistance the program met with in some communities?

[Drnovsek] The program includes many positive and progressive elements. Unfortunately, we are currently in such a situation that any proposal coming from another republic is a priori deemed negative and rejected. For instance, some regions reject everything coming from Serbia and others everything coming from Slovenia. We have to overcome such a situation and start talking without having any prejudices about the real essence of our programs or ways to solve the crisis.

[Following passage appears boxed in the body of the item]

Coming to Grips With Inflation

[Miljkovic] Being an economic expert yourself, what do you think about the program FEC president Ante Markovic has offered, and particularly his measures to curb inflation?

[Drnovsek] The FEC has offered and is carrying out a good economic reform program. I think that the direction of these economic reforms is good and that one has to continue implementing it even more intensively. However, it is clear that our inflation has meanwhile grown into a hyperinflation and that it is a threat to the further implementation of economic reforms. It is therefore necessary to come to grips with the inflation. I expect the FEC to come up with additional measures in order to stop the inflation. I think that good conditions have been created to make one anti- inflationary approach successful—our foreign exchange reserves. I think that the FEC can come out with effective measures to stop inflation without abandoning its concept of market operations and of avoiding administrative interference into economy.

The Government has no longer to reply to and polemize with various critics about whether its measures are good and sufficient or not and it is clear that both the FEC and its program will be evaluated through the results achieved. The SFRY Presidency is ready to offer the FEC its full political support in its struggle against inflation. In my opinion, the first half of the next year will be decisive in bringing down inflation.

Unrest Between Republics Continues; Reactions

Drnovsek TV Address

LD2811233289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—In a special program on Ljubljana television this evening Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, talked about topical social and political issues in our country, the efforts to solve the economic crisis, the activities available to the country's presidency in situations similar to the forthcoming ones [the 1 December Ljubljana meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins] and the problem of Kosovo.

He described as undoubtedly exaggerated the claim of his collocutor, the editor-in-chief of Ljubljana television Stane Grah, that the opportunities of the present SFRY Presidency, which is a powerless observer of the disintegration of the federation into mutually opposing republics, for resolving the crisis in the country are largely reduced, as well as its influence and authority.

"I cannot agree at all that the powerlessness of the state presidency is the issue. Relations between our republics and provinces are reflected within the presidency too, because we are also representatives of our republics and provinces. However, I must say that we in the SFRY Presidency try to overcome such obstacles, such mutual hindrances. We try to agree on paths for the way out of the crisis. Sometimes we are more, and sometimes less successful."

Dr Janez Drnovsek then reviewed the situation created by the insistance of Serbs and Montenegrins on holding a meeting in Ljubljana on 1 December. Some important decisions of the state presidency, especially important for the economy, were overshadowed by discussions on the meeting, which were favored by almost all the information media, Drnovsek stressed.

"The SFRY presidency did not approve the meeting. It called for another form of communication, but in a positive manner—not with bans. In essence, it called on reason. The stand of the SFRY Presidency that such meetings are undesirable and harmful, is still in force. The situation created by an ultimatum-like announcement regarding the meeting in Ljubljana is becoming more and more exacerbated and complicated. In my statement I wanted primarily to point out that the situation is directly opposed to all efforts of the SFRY Presidency to reconcile intranational contradictions. The situation and all the risks it carries invalidate all our efforts. Attention is focused on the meeting, various

incidents are possible, exacerbation of intranational relations is a possibility...[ellipses as received]

Dr Janez Drnovsek then reviewed the efforts invested in a new SFRY constitution. "We are witnessing efforts to resolve this issue in two ways. Two extremes became well-defined. The one wants a constitution immediately, as fast as possible. It demands a constitution which would find a way out of the crisis. We can agree with this in principle. We all know that we are in economic and political crisis and that we need a new agreement between our nations and nationalities. They would want this to be achieved as soon as possible. On the other hand, it is very difficult to accept a new agreement and a new constitution in the climate of worsened national relations and of interrepublican conflicts. For that reason, I believe it is necessary to firstly improve these relations, to create the conditions for a tolerant and calm dialogue about all important issues of our life in this state, and our future development. When we achieve this, we shall be in a position to agree on a new constitution quickly."

Speaking about a relation between the Federal Executive Council and the SFRY Presidency, especially regarding economic policy, Dr Janez Drnovsek pointed out that the government received support from the SFRY Presidency. It is always free to implement its reforms. The Presidency mediate in the Assembly when the temporary measures were halted. It is quite clear that the government has the full support of the SFRY Presidency when it comes to reform and market orientation.

Hyperinflation is the other problem. Polemics raged for a long time in Yugoslavia about whether or not an antiinflationary program is necessary or whether or not inflation will be reduced with the introduction of reforms. Inflation also threatens the implementation of the program reforms. We alone or together with the government discussed this often. We reached a joint orientation—we should in the shortest possible time act against inflation. We expect that the government will soon prepare additional measures for resolving that problem. We hold that it will be a good program, and the presidency will make efforts to contribute with full political support to the realization of the program. All of our efforts so far, as well as the exchanges of opinions, point out that it is possible to realize an antiinflationary program on a market basis with prospects of economic decentralization and without direct administrative demands on the economy.

Dr Janez Drnovsek then expressed his conviction that we have a better chance of turning the dinar into a convertible currency, as claimed in the speeches made during the elections for the post of president of the SFRY Presidency, than some future EEC members. "For several years we have achieved good results in foreign trade. We have an exceptionally high level of foreign currency reserve. We are not at all far from convertibility of the dinar, as it would seem at first sight in this chaos, and especially with this inflation. I deem that we are objectively nearer a real inclusion in European economic integration processes than other East European countries. Our enterprises have been accustomed to independent business activity for a long time."

A significant part of the interview with Dr Janez Drnovsek concerned Kosovo.

Describing the present situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as "still serious", Drnovsek stressed at the same time that it would be "very optimistic to expect that this problem will be resolved quickly". "In Yugosalvia recently this question has caused increasing polarization, particularly on the ways to resolve the problem of Kosovo. There is also increasing intolerance. Reactions to different views are emotive, with the qualification that anyone who thinks differently is an enemy, a traitor, and so on. I consider that this is very bad. In my opinion, the problem of Kosovo cannot be solved in the long term by repressive measures. At the same time we must resolve in whatever way the economic and general developmental problems of Kosovo, including the question of the high birth rate. It is thought that a gradual greater economic activity would divert attention from the national factor and emphasis on it to other problems.

"I also consider that it is very important for us to ensure the correct activity of the state organs in Kosovo, the correct activity of the judicial organs, equal treatment for the members of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo, and this way gradually return the lost trust between the people who live in Kosovo. I see no other way to consolidate. I believe that on this basis we could achieve a new Yugoslav agreement on how to resolve the Kosovo problem and genuine involvement to resolve it in such a way."

At the end of the interview Dr Janez Drnovsek stressed that the question of abolition had become an extremely politicized idea. I predicted in advance that such a situation would arise, and for that reason I thought it would be sensible to raise the question of abolition as a possible political solution to the situation. I expected that such a move would contribute to the easing of intranational tension in Kosovo, and that it would be in the interests both of the Albanian and the Serbian and Montenegrin nations who live together in Kosovo.

The time is obviously not yet right for such a political decision. It would be acceptable if everyone recognized it as a real solution. After that there would be appeasement. Otherwise the situation would only get worse. I hope that the situation will continue to improve and that we will find a common language. I must say that the SFRY Presidency has long debated this problem. Views were particularly divided. We did not approve abolition, but that probem was given emphasis among the public. I do not agree, however, that this process should be

identified in advance as Stalinist, even before it has really been seen for what it is, Dr Janez Drnovsek concluded.

'Urgent Replacement' Demanded

AU0512174589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Various Communities Ask That Dr Janez Drnovsek Be Hauled on the Carpet: 'He Is Not Our President'"]

[Text] The City Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Novi Sad: It has been suggested that the SFRY Assembly and the SFRY Presidency make an assessment of the political and legal legitimacy and suitability of the public statement that SFRY Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek made on the eve of the Republic Day in connection of the meeting of truth and the abrogation of Azem Vlasi's trial.

The Communal Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Obilic: We demand that SFRY Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek be hauled on the carpet and replaced because, as was said at the session, of his extremely unacceptable statement given to Ljubljana television on the eve of the National Day which has caused divisions among Yugoslav peoples and nationalities.

The Presidiums of Nis Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and the Trade Unions Organization: One of the first stances expressed at the public debate here should be that Yugoslavia should get a president who will be elected by all peoples and nationalities of our country and who would be a Yugoslav president. The behavior of the present president, Dr Janez Drnovsek, in this connection and his personal views differ from the view of the SFRY Presidency.

We shall not consider him to be our president until he expresses a Yugoslav view about all these issues.

Titograd Committee for Ljubljana Meeting: With his behavior to date, Dr Janez Drnovsek has helped this kind of a behavior of the Slovene leadership to last for such a long time. Therefore, he cannot represent Yugoslavia and this is why we demand his urgent replacement.

Emergency Session Urged

LD0512093189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference requests the urgent convening of an extraordinary session of the Federal Assembly, at which the escalation of the conflict between Slovenia and Serbia might be halted. At today's session of this Presidium, it was stressed that the federal organs must do everything in their constitutional competence to find a way out of the crisis, the like of which the new Yugoslavia has not fallen into since its foundation.

At this session it was also requested that the SFRY Presidency, which has been criticized a good deal, present the Federal Assembly with a decided explanation as to whether it is capable of governing the country instead of turning to the people with appeals and announcements.

Members of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Republican Conference requested of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber and the Federal Executive Council that they present to the public precise information about what the breaking off of relations means for the two republics and the whole of Yugoslavia. At this session it was also insisted that a procedure be entered into for adopting a new constitution by 1 January of next year, as recently promised.

This session, held on the eve of tomorrow's extraordinary session of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Federal Conference Presidium which will discuss the newly-created situation and relations between Slovenia and Serbia, could not however pass without individual condemnations of the conduct by either of the leaderships. There was however no desire to dwell on who is more to blame for the existing state of affairs. Although none of the participants would commit himself, sharp words were nevertheless uttered against the Slovene leadership's decision to ban movement in the republic and also against the Serbian leadership's decision to sever economic relations with our most northern republic. All the familiar arguments were cited to expalin the tense relations and it seems that Aleksandar Kalmar, vice president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, was the only one who was not taken by surprise by the culmination in relations between the two republics. Economic protectionism, especially since 1972, has been responded to by political interventionism, Kalmar said, stressing that this is the gist of the problem.

Rasim Kadic , president of Bosnia-Hercegovina youth organization, thinks that we will continue to sink ever deeper into the crisis and that there is no point in merely describing the situation and making appeals, until citizens are allowed to state their views through direct elections and a multiparty system is introduced. These are the only two ways to heighten the accountability of the leaderships who will be responsible to the people and have to consult people. He called for the work on the new constitution to be accelerated.

In Dr Obrad Piljak's view, the leaderships of Slovenia and Serbia are competing on how to harm the other side more and how to present the other in as dark a light as possible. He thinks that this unsatisfactory tone is being set by individuals within the leaderships who are trying

to fulfill their leadership ambitions and to impose their options which are completely different from those of the other side.

All 15 participants in the debate called for constructive solutions to be worked out at the federal level. The federal organs and the SFRY Presidency, in particular, were however criticized for their vacillation and lack of determination in enforcing constitutional provisions in cases of unconstitutional behavior. Statements by individual SFRY Presidency members only serve to add fuel to the flames. Instead the collective head of state should come up with a constructive approach and ideas on how to resolve existing conflicts.

It must be said that the conflict between Slovenia and Serbia is having an immediate effect on the economy and even more on the political scene in Bosnia-Hercegovina where meetings have already been held or will be held in some areas. Ahmed Dzubo, president of the war veterans organization, insisted, on behalf of his organization, that the president of the municipal war veterans organization of Sipovo not be allowed to stand down as requested by those who took part in a meeting in Sipovo recently. Dzubo's view that throughout Yugoslavia conflicts cannot be resolved through meetings but with the help of the system's institutions and organs, was supported by others. A working group will be set up to formulate stands from today's session. The stands will reiterate that Bosnia-Hercegovina does not approve of either single-nationality meetings or of bans which curb citizens constitutional rights. The latter is a reference to the use of "barbed wire" and the restriction of movements in Slovenia.

Session To Solve Situation

AU0612195889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber proposed today that a session of both assembly chambers should be held by 20 December at the latest, at which the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council will assess the political situation in the country and suggest measures to overcome this serious political crisis. This conclusion was adopted by the Federal Chamber on the occasion of the proposals made by the group of delegates from Slovenia, Serbia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as by the Macedonian Assembly, to the effect that the SFRY Assembly should react immediately to the break in relations between Serbia and Slovenia.

Delegates from Slovenia explain the demand by the need to assess the situation that has ensued in the wake of the proclamation issued by the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia on breaking ties with Slovenia. Delegates from Serbia are of the opinion that by banning the meeting in Slovenia, human rights have been violated and the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia threatened. The Macedonian Assembly, as well as a group of delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina, think that the political situation that has ensued since the Meeting of Truth was banned in Slovenia and since the proclamation was issued in Serbia is grave and that a solution must be sought by the Assembly, the SFRY Presidency, and the Federal Executive Council.

Assembly To Hold Joint Session

LD0612220289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1836 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (TANJUG)—The two chambers of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly will hold a joint session by the end of next week at the latest to discuss the strained economic and political situation in the country, the Federal Chamber of the Assembly decided on Wednesday.

Asking for a joint session, the deputies warned that interethnic relations have been strained of late after the authorities of the Republic of Slovenia put a ban on public gatherings in its territory, and Serbia responded by announcing a break-off of all ties with Slovenia. The ban on gatherings prevented the staging of a rally by Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, who had intended to inform the Slovenian public about harassment by ethnic Albanian separatists and chauvinists to which they are exposed in Kosovo.

The deputies asked that the entire Yugoslav Presidency and the Government attend the session, which is expected to mark a turning point in overall relations in Yugoslavia. In accordance with their constitutional jurisdiction and responsibility for the situation in the country. The two bodies are expected to prepare reports with concrete proposals for overcoming the current situation.

At the session, Prime Minister Ante Markovic is expected to present his cabinet's economic policy measures for next year. The fact that monthly inflation exceeded 42 percent in November best describes the seriousness of the economic situation.

Chamber Rejects Declaration

LD0612173789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber today decided not to adopt a special declaration on interethnic relations which was planned to be adopted today. The decision was made following an agreement that a joint session of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces to discuss deteriorating political and economic situation in the country will be held by the end of next week at the latest.

The Federal Chamber also accepted a suggestion by the Federal Government not to consider a draft of next year's federal budget, which is expected to undergo significant changes after the adoption of the final program of measures for curbing inflation.

Milosevic Speech Reported

AU0612144589 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1800 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Bojan Veselinovic report]

[Excerpts] At the session of the Serbian assembly, the number one media event was certainly the speech by Slobodan Milosevic, reelected president of the Presidency of Serbia, if for no other reason than this was his first speech after a lengthy break during which he was not heard in public.

In his speech of thanks for his election, Slobodan Milosevic called the unity of Serbia in its entire territory and all the political changes that followed a necessary condition for Serbia's further development. [passage omitted]

In Milosevic's opinion, the bureaucratic Slovene authorities have broken the ties with the Serbian people, which the Serbian leadership has taken seriously. Serbia will maintain such a reaction—as I have said, Milosevic called it a serious reaction—until the aggressive, violent, and conservative forces in Slovenia give way to, or move out of the way of, a democratic, peaceful, and fraternal attitude in Slovene politics.

The written version of the speech which we received in advance of Milosevic's delivery, says that, I quote: The conservative Slovene leadership should withdraw from the political scene by itself. At the last moment, Milosevic thus decided for a more aggressive version of the call on the Slovene leadership to, as we may say, come to its senses.

At the session of the Serbian republican assembly, Zoran Sokolovic, its reelected president, went perhaps even further when he extended his hand of fraternal aid to all the democratic and progressive peoples that are ready for the changes which Serbia is supposed to have accomplished.

Today's speech by the Serbian political leader in Serbia's assembly cannot be interpreted in any other way but as an additional endeavor to create a united, and above all one-sided opinion in Serbia and beyond, as Serbia's politicians would say.

Politically regarded, the speech is at least as aggressive as the Serbian proclamation adopted recently. Milosevic's slap in the face of Slovenia may be understood in a similar way as his words a few months ago when he announced that Vlasi will be convicted, before Vlasi was arrested and before his trial began.

This then is a subject for the discussion by a number of federal organs which at present merely postpone their sessions or issue statements from closed sessions, statements that demonstrate their own complete impotence.

Slovene Presidency on Speech

LD0612192989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—At its session today, "The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was briefed on the speech by Slobodan Milosevic, President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The speech contained unfounded and absurd assertions about the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and its leadership," says a statement from the Slovene Presidency published in the media today.

"This speech opens up a number of questions concerning relations within the SFRY and the position of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia within it," the Slovene Presidency statement stresses. "The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia therefore has concluded that it should propose to the Slovene Assembly, as the highest organ of government in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, that it convene an extraordinary session as soon as possible which will consider the accusations and claims made in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and adopt a stand on them," the statement from the Slovene Presidency concludes.

Economic Blockade 'Unconstitutional'

LD0612175289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1521 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 6 (TANJUG)—The call by the Socialist Alliance of Serbia to work organizations and other institutions to cut off their cooperation with firms and institutions in the Republic of Slovenia is unconstitutional, as it violates the integrity of the Yugoslav market, President of the Slovenian Chamber of Economy Dr Rado Bohinc has said.

Bohinc holds that this move by a political organization from another republic could result in the raising of criminal charges, in case the call tdo a general political and economic blockade caused damaging consequences.

The political call for a boycott of Slovenia primarily in the economic sphere, came in the wake of a so-called rally of truth in Ljubljana and a police blockade of the republics borders [word indistinct] preventing the arrival of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in the republic's capital on December 1.

The rally was intended to present to the Slovenian people the truth about the persecution of Serbs and, Montenegrins in the province of Kosovo are being subjected to by the region's ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists. The [word indistinct] authorities banned the gathering, although ethnic Albanian separatists had a few days earlier held a rally in central Ljubljana without police intervention.

[Words indistinct] Serbia that the call to a boycott also represents a reply to the difficulties Serbia traders face

when trying to market their wares in Slovenia or open shops and department stores there.

Different assessments of the Serbian and Slovenian moves are being made in the other Yugoslav Republic, but the prevailing view is that such conduct is in step neither with the spirit nor with the text of the Yugoslav Constitution.

Slovene LC Presidium Statement

LD0712001289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1956 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—It has become clear and completely obvious that democratic reforms in Slovenia and a vision of a democratic development of Slovenia and Yugoslavia, which the Slovene League of Communists [LC] also supports, have become an obstacle and an unacceptable fact to proponents of a unitarist and real socialist orientation in Yugoslavia, it is pointed out in a statement from a session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium held today.

In spite of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] orientation for the policy of social reforms and a rejuvenation of its own organization, it is further said, the Slovene LC faces absurd qualifications, accusations and attacks particularly from the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. For a long time, primarily since the adoption of amendments to the Slovene Constitution and after the publication of a program document for the congress of the Slovene LC, there have been obvious attempts to settle political accounts with the Slovene LC by all sorts of means, as well as with its Central Committee and individuals who made the biggest contribution to the realization of its political directions.

Reactions to the meeting in Ljubljana which was not held, which the inhabitants of Kosovo Polje obviously prepared under the tutelage of the Serbian policy, present a new attempt to frighten Slovene citizens and disqualify the Slovene LC, as well as to deny our right to independent assessments and stands in which we endorse joint Yugoslav solutions in a democratic dialogue in the LCY, a long statement further adds.

The statement further stresses that the political leadership of Serbia earlier crudely rejected the Slovene initiative to create possibilities for a talk on conflicting questions, which must be dealt with so that Yugoslav society can emerge from the crisis and ensure for itself progress and a place in the European democratic process. The Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee is therefore not surprised by a recently published assessment of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium about the unsuitability of two candidates proposed by the Slovene LC Central Committee as members of the LCY Central Committee.

We do not deny the right of the Serbian LC Central Committee presidium to express its view on individual proposed candidates, including those from Slovenia. However, arguments for the assessment about the unsuitability of Comrades Kocijancic and Kucan present a political pressure on the Slovene LC and in substance are an accusation against the orientation of the Slovene LC.

We resolutely refute personal disqualifications and imputations, using the well-known vocabulary of stage-managed political trials, about our two candidates, which the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium allowed itself to make, the statement stresses inter alia. We understand these as an insult to the Slovene LC and its members. To accept such an accusation would mean a victory for those forces in the LCY which with their opposition to free and pluralist elections, without which there cannot be democratic reforms in Yugoslavia, undermine a development of Yugoslavia as a socialist and federal community of equitable nations and nationalities.

This is anti-Yugoslav policy. A continuation of such a practice is an attempt to prevent the activities of the Slovene LC within the LCY and our members in the LCY Central Committee and its organs, the statement assesses.

The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium further comments on the speech by Slobodan Milosevic to the Serbian Assembly. It is pointed out that it became obvious after Slobodan Milosevic's speech in the Serbian Assembly that this is no longer a conflict between nations or leaderships. This is a deep conflict about the concept of the federation, about possible political foundations and constitutional-legal frameworks of shared life in the Yugoslav federation.

The pressure exerted by Serbia on Slovenia is only an external expression of the pressure exercised by the proponents of a totalitarian concept of the party monopoly on all those members and sections of the LCY who endorse democratic reforms, who do not accept the one and only truth favored by the Serbian political leadership. This is an obvious attempt to arouse fear and dissuade people from democratic reform orientations.

It is impossible to frighten the Slovene LC and its leadership. We have always resolutely refuted all such attempts, and we will always do so. Because of the gravity and possible consequences of such assessments in the country, in which there are still strong aspirations to subject the economy, state and law in their entirety to the interests of a monopolized center, of political power, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium proposes that the LCY Central Committee should discuss these assessments and adopt a stand on them, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium concludes.

Slovenian, Serbian Leaders Criticized

LD0512213189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1803 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Skopje, Dec 5 (TANJUG)—The Sobranje (Parliament) of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on

Tuesday came out against the "violation of Yugoslavia's integrity and international reputation."

A declaration adopted by the Sobranje described as equally unacceptable to the Macedonian people the one-sided efforts by both the Slovenian and Serbian leaderships to deal with controversial issues in mutual relations through unprincipled debates and by fomenting hatred among peoples.

The socialist alliance leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina also said that the escalation of the conflict between the Serbian and Slovenian leaderships has contributed to the strengthening of inter-republican and interethnic confrontations in Yugoslavia.

Both messages refer to the state of Serbian-Slovenian relations which culminated in the Slovenian authorities' decision to use every means to prevent Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins from holding a rally in Ljubljana on December 1, with the aim of informing the Slovene people about the terror of Albanian chauvinists over the Serb and Montenegrin population in the Kosovo Province.

Instead, Slovenia introduced measures banning public gatherings and limiting movement. As a result, 13 Serbs and Montenegrins were arrested and released later in the day.

Serbia and Montenegro responded by breaking relations with Slovenia, especially in the economic field.

The messages called for maximum efforts to normalize relations between the two republics through democratic means.

Croat SAWP on Break

LD0612223389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1806 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—By its incomprehensible and unacceptable appeal for a break in relations with the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the Presidium of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference [SAWP] has taken one of the most dangerous steps toward disentegration of Yugoslavia. Its constitutional system, the idea of a single Yugoslav market, as well as current processes of economic and social reforms, are under threat, while the legitimacy of some of its organs and institutions is being questioned which no one can or has the right to replace or substitute.

This was said by Marijan Kalanj, president of the Croat SAWP Republican Conference, at today's extraordinary session of this body's presidium. The session focused on the current political situation in the country created by the decision to ban the meeting in Ljubljana, and by the appeal made by the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference. Kalanj's introductory report was endorsed by all members of the presidium, as well as by representatives of the Croat leadership who attended the session. Stands adopted today will be presented tomorrow at a session of the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Federal Conference which meets to discuss the same topic.

To choose 29 November as the day for attacking the main achievements of our togetherness and coexistence, Marijan Kalanj said, is to humiliate Yugoslavia as both a federal and socialist community, to deny its revolutionary past, and to threaten its path toward a democratic future.

Using irrational narrow-mindedness and incomprehensible stubornness to defend a decision which has no foundation in either the constitution or law can result in unforseeable consequences. There is no justification for the stands of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference, as these are directed against the vital interests of that republic's nations and nationalities, and against all our republics and provinces. In the same way, calls for the recall of Drnovsek, Markovic, and others, deny the rights of citizens from other republics to select the people they trust most for the federal organs. The time has come to end suspicion of everyone and everything which does not come from one's own environment or is not of one's own nationality.

Kalanj then reviewed the stands of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee, the SFRY Presidency and the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, who on several occasions stated clearly that meetings like the intended one in Ljubljana do not represent an acceptable form of resolving complex social problems, not even problems of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, because there are legal, constitutionally established institutions and forms of communications available for this.

This does not mean that Kosovo is not a Yugoslav problem, Kalanj continued, and that difficulties are not prominent in finding a solution to it. It is, however, senseless to accuse the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which correctly carries its contractual obligations, for the difficult situation, but a more successful resolution of the problem demands a deeper answer to the question of why is the present situation in Kosovo the way it is.

Thus, we are advocating that the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo is considered once more within the framework of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] and other federal bodies, and that it is noted down who carries out and who evades their obligations. It is clear, Kalanj stressed, that these problems cannot be solved in streets, but only within the framework of legitimate bodies, constitution and laws.

Thus, no one can dispute the legality of the action by the top administrative bodies of the Slovenian Assembly not to accept meetings as a form of communication. The measures introduced are the ultimate legal means, which do not cheer progressive Yugoslavia, but initiators of the meeting knew what would be a reply to their pressures and blackmails.

Hereby we do not express our approval, but on the contrary, we condemn the unacceptable descriptions and qualifications presented to the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, in which narrowminded nationalism, revanchism, and insults to the dignity of the Serbian and Montenegrin nations were reflected, Kalanj said.

Continuing the speech, Marjan Kalanj stressed the demand of bodies and organizations of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, sent to top state bodies of the SFRY, that peace and order are respected and ensured in the newly created situation, and that the SFRY Assembly ensures implementation of the constitution and laws. It is necessary to mobilize urgently all political subjects throughout the country so that normal communications are established between all parts of our country. Croatia will give its full contribution to this, so that the existing blockades are overcome on a principled basis together with respect for the constitution and law and legitimate rights of all our nations and nationalities.

Speaking about the situation in Croatia at this difficult time, Kalanj stated that reason prevails, but that there are attempts to destabilize the situation, both from outside and inside. Especially prominent are pressures on Serbs in Croatia to sympathize on a national basis with policies of the Serbian leadership, whereby their place and role as a constitutive factor of Croatia is denied. Both Serbs in Croatia and Croats as the majority nation face a major test, but Kalanj stresses that they will not succumb to pressures and proclamations, which are spread in this republic.

The so-called simple and unified solutions, according to Kalanj, are commanding in their style; stubborn insistence on differences leads to disintegration of the country. Thus, it is urgently needed to consolidate democratic framewrk for dialogue; meetings can certainly not be that. Integration is achieved through toleration of differences, and not by imposing one's own model of development. Blind insistance on one's own national, historical or cultural uniqueness, together with ignoring others, is a major obstacle for inclusion in global world trends and intergations.

Therefore, the Croatian Socialist Alliance calls on all citizens of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Serbs and all other nations and nationalities in the republic to persist on the road toward democracy, on the project of democratic socialism, on which we shall cooperate with all our nations and nationalities, because we cannot be one without another.

In the discussion afterwards, the stands presented by Marijan Kalanj were supported unanimously; thus, it was concluded that they represent a political platform for tomorrow's session of the leadership of the Federal Conference. So, Andjelko Runjic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, stressed unambiguity and preciseness of the hitherto stances of this republic in connection with the meeting and Yugoslavia's future; Ivo Latin, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, deems that this imposed a discussion about consequences of irrational practice, instead of us tackling pressing economic difficulties. He was in favor of an analysis of causes of the created situation, in order to avoid repetition of futile discussions about consequences. Top people of Croatia stress that Croatia sees its present and future solely in Yugoslavia, but the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia in which all have the right to say what kind of life they want in that community.

Celestin Sardelic regards the one-sided severance of ties between Serbia and Slovenia as the Political act without precedent in our recent and entire postwar history, and in Europe.

Regardless of the motives, this move is aimed against AVNOJ Yugoslavia and it is high time to say who is now doing most to destroy Yugoslavia and to what one-sided, national ends. It should be clearly stated, Sardelic stressed, that Croatia does not agree with the scenario of the so-called nonexistent memorandum of the Serbian Academmy of Science and Art [SANU] with its ultimate aim that "Serbia can get by without Yugoslavia." The break in relations with Slovenia, Sardelic cosiders, is an objectively separatist act by the Serbian political leadership, which cannot pass without a reaction from Croatia. It is the historical responsibility of the democratic politics of the republic that it should create an action political program which will precisely define the firm opposition of the Croatian leadership to all forces of division and hatred. This is not the task of the League of Communists alone, rather all political forces must equally and jointly work on this task in the name of the broadest democratic, antimonopolistic, pluralistic and socialist positions.

Ante Matutinovic called on the Serbian leadership to clarify the differences between this Yugoslavia and the one they wish to establish by means of rallies. Marijan Radmilovic asked who is alienating nations and transfering the burden of the failure of his own easily promised policies onto the shoulders of others. Ines Saskor stressed that all solutions for overcoming the situation which has arisen must proceed from the fact that we want to continue to live together and that Yugoslavia cannot be built on slogans, rather on a concrete struggle.

Several participants in the debate, among them Borka Korac, Josip Podnar, Nikola Filko, Vlado Matijasic, Slavko Bosanac and Miroslav Puz, stressed the question of accountability for the present situation and called on the leaderships of the republic and the country to do everything possible to ensure the peace and freedom of the nations and nationalities of the whole of Yugoslavia, showing regard for the integrity and dignity of every individual.

Croat SAWP Supports Slovenia

LD0612233289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—A thematic session of the Croat Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] republican conference was extended, with a discussion of the current political situation in the country created by not holding a meeting in Ljubljana and with the break in relations between the Socialist Republic's of Serbia and Slovenia. Delegates to the republican conference unanimously and without debate endorsed the stands from the emergency session of its Presidium, held on 4 December.

Explaining the Presidium's stands, Stanko Dragicevic, secretary of the Croat SAWP republican conference, stressed that the ban on the meeting in Ljubljana was a legitimate act of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. It is the right of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to refuse the holding of a meeting as a method of overcoming misunderstandings created thereby. To this it should be added, Dragicevic said, that citizens' constitutional freedoms and rights to gatherings stop being such when they threaten freedom, security, the peace of citizens, and their individual and national rights.

The appeal by the Serbian SAWP republican conference and the break in relations with the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was assessed as an unacceptable act that threatens the constitutional order of the country and damages the prestige of Yugoslavia. Delegates to the Croat SAWP republican conference see the attacks on and demands for the abolishment of the SFRY Presidency as attacks on the constitutional order of Yugoslavia, and view attacks on Janez Drnovsek, Stipe Suvar, and Ante Markovic as a denial of the legitimacy of their electoral basis and of the individual rights and freedoms of the members of the Presidency to publicly present and defend their stands and views.

We positively insist, it was stressed today, that within the framework of the SFRY Presidency, Federal Assembly, and other federal organs, measures and actions for the present situation to be urgently overcome should be established in accordance with the Constitution and laws. It addition, it is demanded that the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and other organs should insure all conditions for public order, security, and peace of citizens in the Socialist Republic of Croatia since in the politics of absurd which now are being dictated, no possibility is excluded. We will know, the delegates said, how to defend the sovereignity and integrity of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and will do everything possible to establish a democratic and tolerant dialogue in Yugoslavia on all the current questions of our shared life.

In continuation, the statement stresses the need to confront the severe economic problems and the the manifestations of nationalism of all hues, in which connection it is stressed that the democratic public of the Socialist Republic of Croatia will know how to respond to provocations that wish to destabilize the situation in this republic.

A regular part of the session was devoted to three electoral documents; a program for the political activity of the Socialist Alliance in assembly elections next year, the rules for this and the trade union organization in the procedure for putting forward candidates, and the proposed dates for electoral activities. Members of the republican conference endorsed these documents, assessing that a new law on elections should be adopted as soon as possible, so that they may be carried out as well as possible.

Kosovo Chamber on Slovene Stance

LD0612184589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 6 Dec (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Chamber will implement consistently the stands and conclusions of the SFRY Presidency and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium regarding the current Slovene-Serbian conflict, despite the fact that these two top state and party bodies voiced their views with delay.

This is what Husamedin Azemi, president of Kosovo Chamber of Economy, said today when opening a session of the chamber's presidium. He went on to say that the ban on the Meeting of Truth in Ljubljana was received as yet another indication of a lack of understanding for Kosovo's serious problems. The meeting was planned primarily in response to Slovenia's unprincipled attitude toward the efforts to resolve Kosovo's problems, Azemi stressed, and went on to warn that this was not the way to win over the Albanians of Kosovo. He noted that for some time now the Kosovo leadership had been drawing attention to Slovenia's unacceptable political attitude and to its leadership's attitude toward the efforts to resolve the situation in Kosovo. He rejected slovene demands for the reexamination of the LCY's stands on Kosovo.

There was no debate on current situation. A report by the president of Kosovo Chamber of Economy was accepted. It did not contain any reference to the appeal by the Presidium of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican conference for severing economic and other links with Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Demonstrations, Protests Held in Kosovo

More Than 5,000 Attend

LD0512214189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Titov Drvar, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—At this time and in this country only the inhabitants of Kosovo are threatened by Albanian nationalists and separatists but interethnic and interrepublican intolerance is threatening to imperil all of us—the whole of Yugoslavia.

This was stressed among other things at today's "Protest Meeting for the Defense of Yugoslavia" in Titov Drvar by Zdravko Kostadinovic, president of the Municipal Assembly. He added that the citizens and the leadership of Titov Drvar categorically reject the signifying of these gatherings "as single nation gatherings" because in this way "single nation" environments are being prevented from raising their voice for the defense of our common socialist Yugoslavia.

This meeting, which was attended by more than 5,000 citizens of Titov Drvar and the surrounding area, condemned the Slovene leadership for banning the "Protest Meeting of Truth" in Ljubljana but also the "economic blockade" heralded by the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference.

Schoolchildren Arrested

AU0512204689 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Our correspondent reports that at about 1230 GMT today, in the center of Ferizaj [Urosevac in Serbo-Croatian], about 50 schoolchildren threatened security organs and then shouted well-known hostile slogans. This group of schoolchildren was dispersed by the militia, who arrested six of them.

Army Chief on 'Unsuitable' Party Pluralism

LD0612235189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2222 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 6 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army advocates a united, socialist state which will become politically, economically and legally more efficient, Yugoslav chief of general staff Lieutenant-General Slagoje Adzic said in an interview to the paper PEOPLE'S ARMY.

In his first interview since his appointment to the office two months ago, Adzic did not reject the idea of the pluralisation of the Yugoslav society, but said that "at this moment party pluralism is unsuitable" for the country. He said he believes the Yugoslav society will manage to find the most suitable way to coordinate various interests.

On the occasion of Army Day, December 22, Adzic said there had been no option but to introduce special measures in the southern Kosovo Province last February, thus, halting the spread of lawlessness and defeating the separatist forces.

In all this, the People's Army was not directly engaged. Their presence served to deter the anti-Yugoslav oriented forces in Kosovo and the country, Adzic said.

Adzic said the current world military-political situation is favourable because it is marked by negotiations and agreement between the super powers and by major changes in socialist countries.

He, however, warned that the super powers' global strategic aims [words indistinct] just as it remains unclear what direction will take the unpredictable and speedy changes in the socialist countries.

The chief of General Staff said, on the basis of his own beliefs and the social needs, that it would be possible to reduce the size of the Yugoslav Armed Forces.

This is a confirmation of the peaceful character of Yugoslavia's policy and respect of the freedom and independence of other countries, especially neighbours towards (?which) Yugoslavia has no territorial aspirations, Adzic concluded.

Unkovic Gets Most Votes in Belgrade Referendum

LD0412002189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2302 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—Dr Milorad Unkovic received the majority of votes in today's referendum to elect a new president of Belgrade City Assembly. According to the figures announced by the city's electoral commission, out of 410,000 voters who took part in the referendum, 67 percent voted for Dr Unkovic, and the remaining 33 percent for Dr Slobodanka Gruden.

These results will be taken into consideration by delegates of the city assembly during their constitutive assembly tomorrow when a new Belgrade mayor will be officially proclaimed.